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ERRATA.

Page 448, *for* M. le Prince de Anty *read* de Conty.
Page 496, *for* Marquise de St. Prie *read* Marquis De Prié.

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Bavaria	1686–1716.	Maximilian Emmanuel.
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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

THE Peace of Westphalia put an end to the most terrible war that had desolated the Continent of Europe since the awful cataclysm which has been called the wandering of the nations. Goth and Vandal had indeed again swept over the plains of Germany, and devastation, as before, had followed in their train. But, this once, it was not the effeminate civilization of Roman provincials that they had to encounter: they were confronted by men more savage than themselves; and the horrible scourge of a war of religion, under which specious name the ambition of Emperors and Kings was veiled, had gone forth into every district of a flourishing land. The deep and settled purpose of the House of Austria, consistent and terrible in its perfidy throughout all times, was directed to the destruction of all the liberties of the Germanic Empire, and the triumph of Absolutism over Protestantism, or the freedom of religion, on the one hand, and all national and constitutional rights on the other. For its own inscrutable purposes Providence had raised up a man willing and able to carry this fearful object into effect. Albert of Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland and Sagan, was the man to whom it was committed to give life and form to the ideas of a Maximilian, a Charles V.,

and a Ferdinand. Cold but cruel, heartless but full of logical convictions, keensighted as to ends, and reckless as to the means by which they were to be obtained, the servant, the saviour, and the victim of the Imperial policy, he had vowed to realize the visions which the House of Hapsburg entertained of restoring the monarchy of Constantine and Justinian. Like that bold, bad man Strafford, save only that he was more fortunate in his career as a successful soldier, and that he was spared the disgrace of a public execution, he had set up "Thorough" as his system. Like him he had determined upon the erection of a standing army, by which unlimited and irresponsible power might be maintained. He had dyed his hands with the blood of his Bohemian fellow-nobles; he had amassed for himself enormous wealth out of their confiscated estates; he had raised himself from the position of a simple gentleman to that of a Prince of the Empire, trampling down with iron will all laws, Divine and human, that ran counter to his own designs; and he fell at last, because he was grown so great that it was impossible for him to remain in a secondary condition. It was the Nemesis that followed him, that caused such a career to end in a puddle of blood, that sent a horde of treacherous banditti to end a man who had saved Cæsar! With that instinct which God seems often to have given to such men, Friedland from the first suspected and dreaded Gustavus Adolphus, in whom alone he ever found a victor. But the battle of Lützen, although it removed the great hero of Protestantism from the scene, brought no relief to Germany. The terrible arms of Horn and Baner Torstensohn and Königsmark and Wrangel, the still more terrible counsels of Axel Oxenstjerna, carried devastation and disorganization into

every part of the Empire. And when at last both parties found themselves compelled by utter exhaustion to consent to a compromise, it contented no man.

But it left Germany prostrate and ruined, not less by the loss of its material prosperity than by the total breaking up of all those social and political relations which had hitherto held the great but heterogeneous body together. We who are accustomed in these days to see war carried on upon principles as Christian as are consistent with its existence at all, and sin rather on the side of an ill-judged courtesy towards our enemies, can form but little notion of the results of a war in the seventeenth century. Regular armies, raised in time of peace, and forming an institution which harmonizes more or less with the conditions of such a state of society, officered by gentlemen used to the courtesies of civilized life, and furnished with the regular and steady means of subsistence, can give us but little notion of the horrible mobs of banditti which were called armies in those days. As long indeed as Gustavus Adolphus lived, and the Swedish force looked upon itself as a body of Crusaders in the cause of Christ, a severe and in general effective discipline had been maintained on their side; but even he, cut off from his natural basis of operations, his magazines and resources, had been compelled to draw upon the means of the country in which he operated, for the subsistence of his troops. After his death, and during the weak and vicious reign of his daughter Christina, the Swedes themselves had declined to a condition not much higher than that of their opponents. Unwilling or unable to make head against a favouritism whose forms and results foreshadow the palmy days of Elizabeth and Catherine of Russia, the Swedish Generals, once the instruments in a noble

work of regeneration, found themselves reduced to play the *rôle* of adventurers, and to recruit their forces from the scum of the Condottieri of Europe, who offered, turn by turn, their swords to the best bidder. How thoroughly Wallenstein understood the principle that war is to be made to feed itself, is clear enough from his remark, that he could not make an army of forty thousand men provide for itself, but he could an army of a hundred thousand.

Under these frightful conditions we have no difficulty in understanding the state to which the country was reduced. We now learn without surprise, and read almost as a matter of course, that in this or that principality three or four hundred villages, once the seat of prosperous industry, vanished from the face of the earth. We perfectly understand why every ancient work of fortification, many perhaps dating from the days of heathendom itself, should be ascribed by popular tradition to Wallenstein or the Swedes. We feel no difficulty in believing that flourishing cities like Magdeburg or Minden* were laid in ashes, or that even Berlin retained at the close of the war only three-fourths of its former burgesses. Professor Ranke, in his 'History of Prussia' (vol. i. p. 56), says: "A painful picture of the times is presented by a set of tables drawn up in the seventeenth century, containing a comparison of the number of houses, of which, in the good old times, each city in the March was composed, with that which was left standing at the end of the Thirty Years' War. In many cities one-half, in some

* The sack of Magdeburg has been made horrible by poets and painters. The archives of many German towns, which few men can, and yet fewer will, read, tell us that this was no favoured city in the aristocracy of misery. The contemporaneous official accounts of the sack of Minden, yet in MS., are my authority for what I say.

two-thirds, in a few even five-sixths of the houses had been destroyed. The suburbs of Berlin no longer existed, and within its walls the houses had diminished by at least one-fourth. The city contained only three hundred burghers." And yet the March of Brandenburg had been treated leniently compared with other parts of Germany. It was computed that property to the value of at least seven millions of dollars had been destroyed or plundered in Königsmark's sack of Prague. With these facts before our eyes, we can readily appreciate the moral degradation which had ensued. With his house torn down or burnt over his head, his cattle driven away, his savings stolen from him, and all his domestic sanctities violated, it is not wonderful that the peasant had himself become a bandit, and hastened to indemnify himself at the expense of others for his own losses. The Princes that had set the example of lawlessness and revolution were become little more than the heads of mobs of plunderers. Many had taken service with the House of Hapsburg, whose sole end and aim was the destruction of their legal independence, and the reduction of them to that condition which, in these later years, it has enforced upon Bohemia, Hungary, and Italy. Others, throwing off all the ancient bonds which held the Empire together as a political body, had set themselves up as independent sovereigns, raising claims valid only while they stood at the head of their armies of Landsknechte, each striving to secure for himself, under specious pretexts, a remunerative share of the common spoil. And in the meanwhile France, whose deep principle of policy was the disorganization of the Empire, had carefully fomented and nourished all those intestine dissensions, till it had succeeded in detaching a large portion of the Princes of

that body from the true interests of the House of Hapsburg and their own. Richelieu, while he remorselessly trampled out in France every spark of civil and religious liberty, intrigued with Baner and subsidized Mansfeldt. In this fatal precedent the later Princes found a justification for the relation in which they themselves and their ministers stood to Louis XIV. And under these circumstances fully developed itself that germ of division which has now blown out into full flower, in the spirit of separation, which renders the idea of a "German unity" a mockery and a snare.

At the close of the Thirty Years' War, Germany presented a spectacle which perhaps has never been paralleled in the history of civilized nations. Pestilence and famine had done what the armies had left undone. Humane letters had ceased to be cultivated in the seats where they had been most favoured; for law there had been substituted brute force, for loyalty there was rebellion, for unity there was discord! Worst of all, the German had learned to look to other countries than his own for the principles of his political and social being. And when the Peace came, it brought dismemberment with it. This humiliation the Emperors had drawn upon themselves by the war which they had provoked. They had marched under the banner of Absolutism, and they had seen the bonds of their legitimate authority loosened: they had proclaimed the triumph of Roman Catholicism, and they had been forced to submit to a very considerable confiscation of church property; and, as regarded the "stranger," they had been driven to consent to the cession of many provinces. By the eleventh article of the Treaty of Münster, France became possessed of the episcopal sees of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, of Upper and

Lower Alsace, of the Sündgau, of Breisac, and of ten Imperial Cities lying in Alsace. It had obtained the right to place a garrison in Philipsburg, of causing the fortifications of Benfelden, Rheinau, Hohenhar, and Neuburg to be dismantled, and of extorting a pledge that from Basle to Philipsburg no fortress should be erected on the banks of the Rhine. It had thus secured to itself a high-road into the heart of the Empire. On the other hand, by the tenth article of the Treaty of Osnaburg, Sweden appropriated to itself the Duchies of Bremen and Verden and the District of Willshausen, Hither Pomerania and the Island of Rügen, a large portion of Further Pomerania, and Wismar, Stettin, Gartz, Dam, Golnau, and Wollin, with the Haff, as well as the harbours of Pene, Swine, and Diewenau; it had extorted, in addition, a gratification of five millions of thalers. The condition imposed upon it, of taking these lands as a fief of the Empire, though it might soothe the vanity of Cæsar, made Sweden an Imperial estate, and held out that possibility which was nearly realized, both in the persons of Gustavus Adolphus and of Charles XII., of a King of Sweden becoming Emperor of Germany. Although, as far as words could settle so important a question, the religious differences were for awhile set to rest, and the three Christian confessions, of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, were placed upon a perfect equality, there was but little hope that the provisions of the treaty would be satisfactory to those most nearly concerned. The details of administration were too various and too numerous, the transfers of property too arbitrary, and too many questions were left to be decided at a future period, for any real peace to be secured. The Catholics had in fact reason to complain that they had

come out of the affair the greatest sufferers; the Upper Palatinate had been restored to the son of Frederick V., and an eighth Electorate created in the hands of a Protestant Prince, which might give a preponderance to that Confession in the Electoral College. Large sums were to be provided for the satisfaction of his claims and those of his brother, for the dowry of his mother, and the portions of their unmarried sisters.* That the Emperor and the Catholic Estates would submit to this humiliation was hardly to be expected; and scarcely was the ink dried with which the signatures were written, when a system of evasion commenced, by which the great settlement itself was attempted to be rendered nugatory in many of its details. Too many conflicting interests had to be reconciled; the great majority of the German States stood towards one another in family and political relations of the most complicated character; and these had been thrown into almost irremediable confusion by the events of the war.

In the theory of the German constitution, the settlement of these various difficulties pertained of right to the Emperor in his Aulic Council; but the ends and objects of Cæsar, which were never above suspicion, had been shown of late in a way which justified the reluctance of the Princes to place their interests in his hands. Nor is it much to be wondered at, that men who had tasted the delight of independence, and had learnt to trust in their own forces and the influence of their alliances with the foreigner, should be little inclined to defer to the pedantic deductions of the peruked jurists at

* To the brother, 400,000 thalers; to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, 20,000 thalers, and to each of her daughters 10.000 (about fifteen hundred pounds).

Regensburg. A civil war is always ruinous to a nation; a foreign one may sometimes be a blessing, if it unites and binds up together all the popular energies in one great national cause. But this chance was not given to Germany for more than a generation after the signature of the Peace of Westphalia. And when, twenty years later, the ambition of Louis XIV. again lit the flames of war in Europe, the Empire itself took no decided and positive part. In the meanwhile the Princes amused themselves with learning and aping the manners of the French Court, keeping up alliances (under which term they understood the receiving of large pensions from France), and establishing over their ruined and dispersed subjects despotic rights of sovereignty which they had never before possessed. The policy of Henry IV. of France, which Richelieu had consistently pursued, aimed at the humiliation of the Emperor, and the detaching of Spain from the House of Austria. The Treaty of the Pyrenees (November 7th, 1659), the fertile source of future disturbances, was Mazarin's corollary to his great predecessor's measures. But Germany looked on in quiet; and even when Louis declared war against the Estates-General, in order to punish them for entering into the Triple Alliance, there was but a lukewarm assistance afforded by the Princes of the Empire to the great bulwark of Protestantism in Europe. Frederick William III. of Brandenburg, whom history has indeed justly surnamed "The Great Elector," forms here a great and glorious exception. Called to raise his little Principality to the highest point of power, and to prepare its reception into the foremost rank among the dynasties of Europe,—wise in counsel, provident of means, intent upon great ends, and well assured that the prosperity of the

Prince can only consist with the prosperity of the people, —he had succeeded in driving the Swedes from his neighbourhood on the Baltic, in repressing the pretensions of Poland, in restoring the material well-being of his Estates, and in taking up the high position of the head of the Protestant interest in Germany. It was related of him that on the death of Michael, in 1648, he might have been elected King of Poland, on condition of conforming to the Roman Catholic dogma, but that he had answered, "At that price I would not even take the Empire of Germany!" On the revocation of the Edict of Nantes he offered a home and every assistance to the Huguenots who suffered for conscience-sake. To his efforts it was mainly due that France was, in 1678–9, compelled to sign the Peace of Nimeguen, in which all the provisions of the Peace of Westphalia were solemnly ratified, as an integral and unchangeable part of the public law of Europe.

The war which was thus closed had been in truth directed against Holland and the Emperor, and for a long while the Princes of the Empire, many of them in alliance with France, affected to believe that it was no concern of theirs. A less sensitive vanity than Louis XIV.'s might well have taken umbrage at the position assumed by the United Provinces at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; nor were in general the Princes much concerned either in upholding the Calvinist Republicans, or strengthening the hands of the House of Austria. But the Great Elector saw further than his contemporaries, and judged that the reduction of Holland was not the limit which Louis proposed to his arms. Prussia itself belonged indeed, not to the Lutheran, but the Calvinist (called the Reformed) Confession, which in religious matters cor-

responded with that of Holland, and acknowledged the Canons of the Synod of Dort. But neither this consideration, nor the personal interests of the House of Orange, with which he himself was nearly connected, were his principal motives in taking an active part in hostilities against France. He saw clearly that the policy of that power was steadily directed against the Empire, and he spared no pains to awaken the Princes to a sense of their danger. He took the field himself, at the head of the best troops then existing in Germany; and when France, in order to recall him from the Rhine, let loose her allies, the Swedes, upon him in his own states, he commenced that series of skilful manœuvres which were crowned by his decisive victory at Fehrbellin. The Peace of Nimeguen followed (1678–9). But even this, however solemnly engaged, was not destined to be of long duration. The claims which Louis put forward, under the title of Reunions, soon called Europe again to arms, and prepared those great events which changed the succession in England, and were terminated only for a time by the Peace of Ryswick.

During the whole of this period the relations of the Princes of the Empire amongst themselves, and towards the neighbouring States, were assuming the most complicated aspect. The most of them had taken advantage of the prostration in which the Thirty Years' War had left their subjects, to develope totally new principles of internal government upon very despotic bases. In this, as in many other of the less amiable parts of his character, the French King was the model which they had proposed to themselves for imitation. Many of them stood openly in his pay, and, with their own connivance, their Ministers were his pensionaries. All had reason more or

less to dread the faithlessness of the Emperor, whose ambition had shown itself not less dangerous to them than that of the House of Bourbon. And the Protestant Estates especially complained with justice of the little regard that was paid to the most solemn provisions of the Peace of Westphalia in their favour. But what really rendered the Princes incapable of uniting for any public purpose, either for the defence of their own liberties against the House of Hapsburg, or to resist the encroachments of that of Bourbon, were their own miserable jéalousies, and the quarrels which arose among themselves, for the enjoyment of certain ranks and privileges and the possession of certain disputed portions of territory. To these ends the most of their policy was directed, and with these objects they framed their alliances. A slight and very rapid sketch of some of these relations will assist the reader in forming a judgement as to the distracted condition of politics in the largest part of the continent of Europe. It must necessarily be extremely general, and touch merely the principal points, without entering into details, for which there is here no space; but I trust it will be sufficient to show with what difficulties the vindicators of European liberty against the encroachments of France continually had to contend. It was in truth like weaving a rope of sand!

Although the battle of Fehrbellin* had rendered Sweden comparatively innoxious, the Great Elector still kept a wary eye upon its movements. Sweden was engaged in hostile relations to Denmark, and with Denmark therefore Frederick William sought alliance; but Denmark had a fierce feud with Holland, and Holland was the natural ally of Prussia. Here was one diplomatical

* In the March of Brandenburg; fought June 18th, 1675.

combination, not easy to unravel: Hamburg presented a second. Denmark had cast a wishful eye on that city, which it longed to reduce to its own subjection, and to this the Great Elector could not consent. Unhappily, with a very justifiable instinct, Hamburg had shown no very great desire to connect itself too closely with Brandenburg, but had preferred the friendship of its near neighbours, the Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg, whose commercial policy was as liberal as it was profitable. But these Dukes were looked upon with no friendly eye by Prussia, which steadily set itself to oppose their advancing importance and rising dignity, and which had serious disputes with them respecting the possession of several valuable districts. Only on one great occasion did Frederick William earnestly and cordially join in the plans of Duke William of Zell. The support of William of Orange, in his attempt upon England, was concerted with that Prince, and was the last public act with which the greatest of the Prussian rulers closed his long and glorious life (April 24th, 1688). His son, who, even at the moment of his accession to the Electorate, had probably conceived the design of converting his barret into a Crown,* was indeed married to a daughter of the Duke of Calemberg;† yet, in spite of this family connection, it seemed on several occasions as if an armed collision would be unavoidable. Peace was, it is true, with difficulty preserved; but very many years elapsed, many difficulties had to be overcome, and many concessions to be made, before a tolerable understanding was re-established between the families.

The House of Brunswick itself was irremediably di-

* Sir W. Colt was aware of this intention as early as Jan. 3, 1693.

† Sophie Charlotte, the pupil and friend of Leibnitz.

vided. After the ruin of the great Duke, Henry the Lion, in the twelfth century, the various members of his House, though always occupying a distinguished rank among the German Dynasts, had still held but a secondary one. At this time they stood indeed at the head of the College of Princes, but below that of the Electors. Of the various branches into which the family was divided, two were particularly distinguished,—the House of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel and that of Brunswick-Lüneburg, and the latter was again divided into the lines of Zell and Calemberg. Between both these branches, and between these several lines also, there existed disputes respecting portions of territory and revenue; and the House of Wolfenbüttel saw, with undisguised alarm, the growing power and wealth of its rivals in Lüneburg. An attempt to unite Wolfenbüttel and Zell, by the marriage of the children, had failed, and had ended by drawing together the Houses of Zell and Hanover. George Louis of Hanover became the husband of his cousin, and Duke George, having no male children, consented that the much-coveted Electoral dignity should be conferred upon his younger brother, and descend to his son-in-law, and his child.* Under these circumstances, the Princes

* I have no doubt that this marriage was the bait which induced Duke George to desist from the opposition to his brother's promotion, which he had at first resented as a personal affront. Sir W. Colt evidently understood the matter so: he writes from Hanover, Aug. 6th, 1689, "This Duke in a few days marches with betwixt 8 or 9000 men, to joyn the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, in order to some great designe with Prince Waldeck. The Emperor has summoned all the Electors to meet him at Augsburg in September, in order to choose his son King of the Romans; and this Duke has great hopes to be then made the ninth Elector, this House and Cell being joyned by the marriage of this Prince and that only daughter." There is still a good deal of obscurity about the attainment of this dignity by the House of Ha-

of Wolfenbüttel had allied themselves with Brandenburg and Denmark, and above all things had sought the protection and accepted the subsidies of France. Nor had Hanover itself decidedly thrown off its dependence upon the last-named Power, till the hope of the electoral dignity drove it to assume the party of the Emperor, and

nover. Spittler himself professes to be totally ignorant as to when the idea first arose, or from what quarter. Like everything else connected with the history of the Serene House, this has probably been intentionally involved in a very childish and unnecessary mystery. There was nothing discreditable in aspiring to the dignity, and, for anything which has yet transpired, nothing discreditable in the means employed to obtain it. The House of Lüneburg paid quite a sufficient price for the favour. Frederick the Great, in one of his *philosophical* moods, sneers at the whole transaction. He says (Mem. de Brand. i. 100): "Le Duc Ernest Auguste de Hanovre, beau-père de Frédéric III. (as Elector) fournit de son côté à l'Empereur un corps de six mille hommes, pour la guerre de Hongrie: et en récompense de ce secours, il obtint la dignité électorale. La création de ce neuvième électorat rencontra beaucoup d'opposition dans l'Empire: il ne se trouva que les Électeurs de Brandebourg et de Saxe qui l'appuyèrent; mais l'Empereur, qui avait besoin de secours réels, ne crut pas les acheter trop cher en les payant par des titres frivoles." But what he says is incorrect in every respect. The Elector engaged himself to a great deal more than to furnish 6000 men on that occasion. His creation was warmly supported by William III., and the Electoral dignity was not a "titre frivole." Mr. Macaulay is nearly as incorrect in attributing everything in this affair to William of Orange, as Frederick the Great is in leaving him entirely out of question. There is no doubt that England did warmly support the pretensions of the House of Lüneburg. At the same time, that House offered a very tempting bribe, as will be seen from the terms of the Treaty, as negotiated and concluded by the Hanoverian Minister, Otto von Grote. The Houses of Zell-Hanover and Austria pledged themselves mutually to support one another at all Diets and Conventions of the Empire, and always to give the same votes, except in cases where the religion, the national, or the private rights of the two Houses were concerned. The readmission of Bohemia, in favour of the Emperor, was to be supported in the Electoral College by Zell-Hanover; and the vote of this Electorate was for ever to be given to the eldest son of the Emperor, on the election of a King of the Romans. For the Turkish war, then waging, the Dukes were to give 500,000 rixdollars, and to march 6000 men into

join in the great alliance against the disturber of Europe. On September 6th, 1688, the Electress Sophia writes these significant words to Leibnitz: "On dit que Mr le Prince d'Orange passera bientôt la mer avec une flotte formidable pour se rendre protecteur de la religion réformée en Angleterre. La France menace la Hollande d'entrer avec $\frac{m}{50}$ hommes dans ses états, si elle souffre que le Prince d'Orange passe la mer avec une armée. Les Ducs de Celle et de Wolfenbüttel envoyent $\frac{m}{4}$ hommes aux Hollandois, Mr l'Électeur de Brandenburg leur en fournit $\frac{m}{8}$, Mr le Landgrave y envoie du monde aussi. Pour Hanovre, il attend, comme Jupiter en Lucien, la fumée de quelque sacrifice, avec les bras croisés, jusqu'à ce qu'il lui conviendrâ de prendre une autre figure; car il ne laisse pas de faire quelques levées pour empêcher la surprise." The *fumée* which decided the German Jupiter was the Electorate. Anton Ulrich, Duke of Wolfenbüttel, co-regent indeed with his brother Rudolph Au-

Hungary; from 2000 to 3000 men were likewise to be kept on foot upon the Rhine, and Hanover pledged itself to stand by the Emperor till the arrangement of a satisfactory peace. In any future war of the Empire, the Dukes were to furnish, over and above their legal contingent, 144,000 rixdollars yearly, or to send 2000 men, duly equipped, into the field. In any war of the Emperor—in Hungary or elsewhere—not affecting the Empire itself, the contingent might be left out, but the other services were to remain the same. In return the House of Austria was in time of need to assist the Dukes with 4000 men; and in consideration of this Convention the Emperor consented to raise the Dukedom of Hanover to an Electorate, and to use all his efforts to cause the recognition of the new dignity by the other Electors and the College of Princes. I have a very strong suspicion that the scheme of the ninth Electorate had been originally entertained by William of Orange before the invasion of England; that it was intended to invest Duke George of Zell with it; that this it was that rendered the pretensions of Ernest Augustus so galling, and that the marriage was devised as the easiest way of reconciling the conflicting interests. But this is only a supposition, for which I can offer no direct proof.

gustus, but in reality the director of the policy of the State, was in many respects a distinguished and an amiable Prince, but the position in which he stood towards his relatives was a false one, and the whole course of his policy was crooked and unpatriotic. The difficulties of his situation are well set forth in a letter from Sir W. Colt, of January 3rd, 1693. He observes: "I do not find them here in the same humour they were in soe few days since; for now the Danes and the other Princes ply them hard, and the Danish Resident, who went from Cell without taking leave, is here; and the Duke tells us many extraordinary stories, as that the Elector of Brand. is soliciting the Emp^r to be made King of Prussia, and that the new Elector is endeavouring to comand the army on the Rhine, to w^h he offers, they say, to join 10,000 men. . . . In short, Sir, I am more apprehensive of this Duke then ever I was, for the others carry things high & he knows not how to trust them without he comply more than he is willing to doe. Besides he says the Emp^r offers to make him Grand Duke, but that he will not quit the party of the Princes, who are resolved to defend their libertys: however he continues his protestations to have no other allyance but with Denmark & Brandenburg, the latter of w^h he complains to have been broken in 3 months after it was made. He alsoe continues to swere that he hath never had the least money from any person whatsoever, and that he will always doe his best for the common cause. Whilst others say we must suspect all they say here, and it may be not without reason. . . . The other point this Duke insists on is that the Family Pact be renewed, and amendment made, w^h shall be necessary upon this new Electorate, and that then the King of Denmark and the Elec-

tor of Brand. may be added in the mediation. I have but to many reasons to think that the time hath been neglected to regain this Duke, and that he is most certainly engaged with the Princes to oppose the new Electorate, and that he is not at liberty to be reconciled with his kinsmen, and that all his faire words are but to gain time, for they absolutely refused the B^{n} Hecheren to part with any of their troops, w^{h} he offered to treat then for, to remove all jealousys; to conclude they are in an evil way, w^{h} we have fully represented to them, and I hope this Duke will not to much relye on Denmark, w^{h} may be his ruin, as he confessed." But all his assurances could not, and indeed did not, deceive those who had so deep an interest in watching his movements. To the very last he continued to support the intrigues of the disaffected members of the Hanoverian family, to accept the bribes and rely upon the protection of France, till, in accordance with a plan drawn up by William III. himself, his cousins of Zell and Hanover suddenly marched an army into his territories, seized upon his fortresses, and disarmed his troops, and thus reduced him to a state of quiet. Thus driven from politics, he devoted himself to the literary pursuits which have earned for him celebrity. The ponderous romances of which he is the author contain a great many interesting details both of the public and private events of the time, and many valuable notices of historical personages introduced under fictitious names. He was a generous patron of the Arts, and many of the splendid works which adorned the once Ducal residence of Salzdahlen were procured by his taste and munificence.

But long before these events the House of Lüneburg had become involved in an affair which threatened, not

only to bring it into direct collision with Denmark and Saxony, but to cause the utmost confusion in every part of the Empire. The death, in 1689, of the last reigning Prince of Saxe-Lauenburg without male heirs had called forth a number of claimants, whose pretensions rested upon details of the most complicated and conflicting nature. Sweden, Denmark, Anhalt, the Electoral and Ducal Houses of Saxony, the Dukes of Brunswick and Mecklenburg, and a host of minor pretenders, announced themselves. The Emperor would gladly have taken the matter into his own hands, and given the fief, together with the Princess of Lauenburg, to a Duke of his own selection. On June 17th, 1690, Colt reports, "It is now confidently written that the Emperor intends the eldest Princess of Saxe-Lauenburg for the eldest Prince Palatine, which will anger yet more the former pretender I have mentioned." But to these pretensions, and to an attempted sequestration, all parties were alike adverse, and some proceeded to assert their rights by *voie de fait*. Saxony went indeed so far as to take legal possession of Hadeln, by a formal act and notarial settlement; but the Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg, men wiser in their generation, as Colonels of the Circle of Lower Saxony, marched a body of troops into the Duchy, claimed it for themselves, and began in all haste to fortify Ratzeburg. Nor was it till after a military demonstration, and its bombardment by the Danes, that they consented to its dismantling, remaining however themselves in possession till the right to it could be settled. The whole progress of this affair, which, from the threatening character which it assumed, was justly odious to William III., was so long a stumbling-block and stone of offence, that it may be worth while to pursue it a little further.

The only competitors of any real importance were the Saxon Houses, Brunswick-Lüneburg, Sweden, and Denmark, with the Gottorps. The right was clear in no one claimant, and the title of all was for the most part derived from very ancient and obscure periods. Sweden however and Denmark soon found that they could establish no valid claim, and the two competitors that remained were Electoral and Ducal Saxony on the one hand, and Brunswick-Lüneburg on the other. The Duchy of Lauenburg was an original possession of the Billungs, and had been inherited from them by the Guelphs. On the ruin of Henry the Lion, it fell to the lot of Adolph of Holstein, through whom it came to Denmark, and afterwards to the Albertine line in Saxony. Upon this the two Saxon Houses relied (although the Ernestine claimed priority), as well as upon Imperial recognitions of the years 1507, 1660, and 1687. They also relied upon possession, which they took in legal form on September 26th, 1689, but which was *de facto* superseded by the forcible entry of the Duke of Cell. The Dukes of Brunswick derived their pretensions from Henry the Lion, by right of conquest, and in virtue of a Pact made in 1389, between Duke Eric of Saxe-Lauenburg, and Frederic of Brunswick-Grubenhagen. They were also in force upon the spot. But if this claim were good, then Wolfenbüttel shared in it, and accordingly Anton Ulrich demanded his proportion, as right descendant of the common ancestor, and first acquirer, Henry the Lion. The justice of this claim was admitted; but by a Treaty between Dukes George William and Rudolph Augustus (April 23rd, 1703), Wolfenbüttel ceded all its rights, in consideration of the settlement in remainder, a yearly payment of 10,000 dollars, and the cession of a territory

of a certain stipulated value. To meet this last condition the district of Campen was assigned; but as Anton Ulric refused to ratify his brother's act, the Duke of Zell placed himself by force of arms in possession of his property. In 1706, however, Campen and a part of Gifhorn were definitively ceded to Anton Ulric by George Louis, and thus the claims of Wolfenbüttel were satisfied. The greatest danger however arose from the side of Denmark. That Power, which had many causes of dislike to the House of Lüneburg, could not for a moment endure the erection of a fortress so near its frontier, and so well adapted to render all its views upon Hamburg vain. The Danes accordingly laid siege to Ratzeburg, and hostilities commenced, whose results might easily have been the total dissolution of the European alliances, had not the Emperor, Holland, Sweden, Brandenburg, and England, stepped in between the belligerents, and brought about a peace, the principal provisions of which were, that the fortifications of Ratzeburg should be razed, and that Lüneburg should remain in possession of the disputed territory and rights, until the matter should be settled by due course of law. In the meanwhile the Saxon claimants were not idle: Frederic Augustus the Elector not only formally protested against the occupation by Lüneburg, but ordered his representatives in the Diet to sit and vote for Lauenburg. However, as he found the Emperor indisposed to take any steps which might annoy the Princes of the House of Brunswick, and was probably aware that the Emperor, Spain, England, and Brandenburg, had joined in a guarantee that Lüneburg should not be disquieted in its possession, *dum in agris agit fœderatus exercitus*, during the continuance of hostilities with France, he thought it best to come to an

amicable arrangement. A compromise was agreed upon; Saxe-Zeiz ceded his rights to the Elector, who relinquished them to Hanover, in consideration of a payment of six tons of gold, of the reversion, on failure of the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg, and of a division of the titles,—Saxony retaining the style of a Duke of Engern and Westphalia, Hanover assuming that of Duke of Lauenburg, together with a seat and vote in the College of Princes. This Treaty, made in 1697, was ratified in 1716 by the Emperor; but it was only in 1720 that the sequestration was taken off Hadeln, and that this Duchy was incorporated with Lüneburg. I may just add that at the Congress of Vienna, Lauenburg was ceded to Denmark, in which it yet remains—the fertile source of future complications. So much for the business of Saxe-Lauenburg, which, as the reader will see, was pregnant with consequences of a much graver character than the interests in question seem at all to warrant.

I have spoken of the position of the Electors of Saxony in respect to it, and shall have occasion hereafter to enter into considerable detail with regard to Frederick Augustus and the wars of Charles XII. of Sweden; but there are still some observations which will perhaps better be made here. The Electors of Saxony, at this time among the wealthiest and most powerful of the German Princes, had already begun to cast a wishful eye upon a higher station, and to entertain hopes that upon the next vacancy the Elective Crown of Poland might fall to their share. This accession of dignity, which was attained by Frederic Augustus, had, it appears, been already contemplated by his brother and predecessor, John George IV., and his ambitious mistress.* To this end they had

* See the account of the Countess of Röcklitz, p. 148.

maintained alliances with Denmark, in consequence of which, and of their imbroglio with respect to Lauenburg and the county of Mansfeldt, they were no very sincere well-wishers to the House of Lüneburg. Like all their neighbours, these Princes had been dazzled by the glare of splendour which surrounded Louis XIV., and aped in their own States the extravagant profligacy which for many years distinguished the French Court. It is not to be denied that in most of the German residences the mistresses played a part as important, and ruled as despotically, as at Versailles itself; and in none was their government more unabashed and scandalous than at Dresden, especially during the reigns of John, George IV., and Frederick Augustus. To supply their extravagance, the Electors had also for a time consented to be the subsidiaries of France; and when these bonds were broken through, and they did finally consent to join the Grand Alliance, their adherence was not secured without heavy bribes to the women, who really disposed of them and their resources. Sir William Colt gives many amusing hints as to the mode by which the Countess of Röcklitz was brought over to the party of the Allies; and at a later time, Stepney could not conceal his alarm lest Marie Aurora von Königsmark should force Frederick Augustus into a war with Lüneburg, to avenge her own private wrong.* It was fortunate that this dangerous woman did not long retain her influence over a Prince who, whatever other faults he may have had,

* "An intreaguing woman, the Countess of Königsmark, who has almost as great credit as our last Countesse (viz. the Röcklitz), and who is continually employing it towards stirring up a bold Prince to revenge."—Stepney, Relation $\frac{18}{28}$ Mar. 169$\frac{4}{5}$; Add. Mus. Brit. Mus. 9719. fo. 74.

never showed any want of personal courage or aptitude for military adventure.

Thus divided by their interests and their jealousies, the Princes of the Empire would probably at length have succumbed to the dark but steady policy of the Imperial Court. It might have been their fate to share the condition of Bohemia and Hungary; but on the borders of Austria itself was encamped a dangerous and ever watchful foe, whose attacks were as terrible as they were in general unforeseen, and whose very neighbourhood gave continual employment to the Imperial Court and the Imperial arms. The Turkish power was then not an abstraction, tolerated upon calculations of European policy, but a real, a threatening, and an active enemy. Civilized Christian Europe still trembled, and not without cause, at the terrible energy of the Mohammedan, and the barbarians whom he dragged along with him in his train. Although a series of reverses had somewhat shaken the prestige of his earlier successes, the Turk was yet felt to be formidable, both from his own internal power, and for the support which he could always afford to the populations of the Danube in their struggle against the encroachments of Austria. More than one Hungarian and Transylvanian, called a *Rebel* at Vienna because he would not consent to sacrifice the ancient rights and chartered privileges of his country, had uttered the cry of despair,

"Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo,"

and had turned from the treachery of the Christian to trust in the honour of Islam. Tököli and Ragoczi had, by the aid of the Sultan, carried terror to the heart of the Emperor. As yet the dangerous enemy who was to inflict its greatest humiliations upon the Turkish Empire

had hardly emerged from the barren steppes in which he was forging the weapons for a future contest with Europe: between the Russians and the Turks there still remained boundary and barrier-nations unsubdued. *Then*, if the Turk or Hungarian pitched his tents under the walls of Vienna, it was Poland, not Russia,—Sobieski, not Nicholas,—that saved it!

The enemies of Austria found a ready hearing at Constantinople; and even from the days of Francis I. and Charles V., an alliance with Turkey was one of the means adopted in the policy of France to weaken and embarrass its Imperial rival. It is true that the Venetians still served in some respect as a bulwark of Christendom against the Infidel, and that the energies of the Republic were more than once crowned with honourable and deserved success. But Venice itself had passed the culminating point of its prosperity, and its alliance was not rarely felt as a severe drain upon the resources of the Christian Powers. Its possessions in the islands and on the continent of Dalmatia were a standing cause of quarrel with Turkey, and a challenge to that haughty Power, which led to almost interminable hostilities. On this side, therefore, the pressure upon the Princes of the Empire was somewhat lightened. The service of the Emperor against the Turks became a service both of honour and profit; Dukes and Princes held commands in his armies, and, while they themselves learnt the art of war, maintained their own forces in a state of efficiency, which was no trifling guarantee of their own independence. It was in this school that Montecuculi, and Louis of Baden, and Eugene of Savoy, learnt those lessons which they afterwards practised with such fatal effect against another foe. Nor were the affairs of Italy,

and the complicated interests of the Imperial House in that country, without their influence in the relations of the Emperor and the Empire; so that, upon the whole, what could not be expected from Cæsar's honesty, might well be the consequence of his embarrassed position. It was quite clear that the days were gone by when the Princes of Mecklenburg could be dispossessed and ruined by a mere rescript of the Imperial Chancery, or when a brutal Cuirassier like Pappenheim could hope to step into the inheritance of the Dukes of Calemberg. At the time indeed with which the following letters have immediately to do, the tendency of power was rather in the opposite direction. Pressed on every side by the difficulties in which he was involved by his wars with France, and in spite of the aid which he obtained from the maritime Powers, the Emperor was soon made to feel that he could not stand alone without the active co-operation of the Princes of the Empire. It is not much to be wondered at if these gladly seized the opportunity to make their gain of his need. We may be well assured that it was with no friendly eye that he beheld the elevation of an Elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland,—with no little reluctance that he consented to make an Elector of Brandenburg King of Prussia, or to change the Dukedom of Lüneburg into an Electorate. It was hardly possible for him not to see that in these changes there lay the germs of future convulsions, by which the constitution of the Empire itself might be shattered; but the private interests of the House prevailed over those more distant ones of the body politic; and he who strove to aggrandise himself at the expense of Bohemia and Hungary and Italy, could hardly refuse the claim of his instruments to aggrandise themselves in his service.

Among the questions which at this time made any settlement of the affairs of Europe difficult was one which, although it did not seem to involve any great or immediate interests of the Germanic body, really entered more or less into nearly every diplomatical combination. This was the affair of Holstein-Gottorp. Not that there was really any great difficulty in it, or any such complication as might not very readily have been got rid of, had there been any real desire to settle it justly and fairly: but its existence offered too good an occasion to Sweden to interfere in the affairs of Denmark, and to keep that Power continually in disquiet, to be readily relinquished; and it required years of hostilities and negotiations, in which all the great Powers took a part, before the question of sovereignty over two or three petty districts was definitively arranged. Divested of all extraneous matter, the question was simply whether the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp was or was not to be an independent Prince in the little territory which had become the appanage of his family when the elder branch of it ascended the throne of Denmark; or whether, as they claimed at Copenhagen, he was to be considered as a mere administrative officer of the Danish Crown. In truth, at that time, as at present, Denmark felt the full value of Holstein and Schleswig, and was prepared, as we have lately seen it do, to vindicate its claim by right of arms. But the House of Gottorp was closely connected by marriage with the Crown of Sweden, and in all its disputes with Denmark was perfectly sure of aid from Stockholm. As long as this *pierre d'achoppement* lay in the way, it was impossible that peace could be made among the Princes of the Empire, many of whom were engaged by their alliances on one or the other side.

And as neither the Crown nor the Duchies would consent to the intervention of the Emperor, as head of the Empire, it was only by private mediation that the wished-for accommodation could be brought to pass. Frederick the Great resumes the question rapidly, but in the main correctly. He says, 1687:- "Le Nord fut sur le point d'être troublé inopinément par les différends que le Roi de Danemark eut avec le Duc de Gottorp, touchant la Paix de Roeskilde, par lequel le Roi de Suède, Charles Gustave, avait procuré à ce Duc l'entière souveraineté de ses États: les Danois, en haine de cette Paix, chassèrent ce Prince du Schleswig, et déclarèrent qu'ils étaient résolus de conserver la possession de ce Duché comme celle du Danemark même. L'Empereur Léopold voulut se mêler de ces différends; mais le Roi de Danemark ne consentit à s'en remettre de ses intérêts qu'entre les mains de l'Électeur de Brandebourg. On tint des conférences à Hambourg et à Altona; Frédéric V. offrit au Duc de Gottorp de lui céder de certains comtés dont les produits égaleraient les revenus du Schleswig, à l'exception de la souveraineté; le Duc refusa ces offres."—Mem. de Brand. (Œuv. vol. i. 89.) By the good offices of the Great Elector a peace was brought about, under the guarantee of England, Sweden, Holland, and Lüneburg. This, which is called the Peace of Altona, was signed in 1689, and confirmed all the provisions of the Treaties of Roeskilde, Copenhagen, and Westphalia, in favour of the Duke.

There was indeed at the period of which we treat no quarter from which more real dangers threatened, than from the Scandinavian kingdoms, and the policy they seemed disposed to follow in the great struggle which impended. Sweden, it must be remembered, was still

in possession of great provinces upon the continent of Europe; its troops were justly reckoned among the best in existence; it had Generals long trained to great military enterprises, and statesmen than whom none were more profoundly versed in all the political interests of all the European Courts. The so-called *Reduction* had not yet borne its bitter fruits, but it had amassed enormous wealth in the hands of the King; so that it was by no means a matter of small importance into which scale the influence of Sweden should be thrown. And Denmark, although much weakened by its unsuccessful contests with its Gothic neighbour, and certainly incapable of making head against its armies, was still strong by its insular position, and the possession of a very well-appointed fleet, which no race in Europe knew better how to use. In the early part of 1693 this armament amounted to very nearly 600 guns, without reckoning the privateers which could be sent out from every Danish port at short notice.* What was to prevent these Powers from clubbing their forces together, bringing the Princes of the Empire over to their side, and thus forming a *tiers parti*, or neutral party, which would give its own laws to the belligerents? The idea was by no means a vague one, nor was it at all devoid of plausibility. It was one moreover which, in the then temper of Europe, had great right to be popular. No Englishman now will hesitate for a moment to admit that the triumph of the Grand Alliance over France was a blessing for the world, and the salvation of England itself,

* Under date May 3rd, 1693, I find the following list of the "ships newly fitted out at Copenhagen:"—The Swan, 66 guns; Guldenlew, 52 Carlotta Amalia, 64; Schleswik, 50; Neptune, 44; Delmenhorst, 44 Oldenburg, 50; Swerdfisk, 44; Angel, 44; Tumbler, 42; Phœnia, 22 Pacant, 20; Swærman, 18; and Crown, a yacht, 24: in all, 584 guns.

and all that her sons think worth living for; but it is not at all so clear that this was the universal view at that time. It mattered very little to Sweden and Denmark, and not a great deal to Saxony or Lüneburg or Brandenburg, whether the Dutch Stadtholder should be King of England or not. It is very probable that the Scandinavian kingdoms were never carried away by the popular bugbear of Louis's Universal Monarchy, and, as Leibnitz expresses it in one of his letters, thought France was "a long way off." To go to war with Louis was to give up advantageous commercial relations, in which especially the Danish nobles were extensively engaged. Neither Denmark nor Sweden had any great love for the Dutch: Sweden had no great reason to care for the House of Austria, or make sacrifices in its favour. On the other hand, neutrality would allow them to husband their resources for future emergencies; nay it might bring into the Baltic ports a profitable share of the carrying trade, which the Dutch would fain have monopolized. Above all, it promised, if skilfully used, to place the heads of the *tiers parti* in a position to give the law to all parties, when exhaustion and mutual injuries had done their work. It is impossible to say that this was an unfair mode of reasoning, or that such a policy was not recommended by many strong considerations. Selfish no doubt it was; but those who believe the game of politics to be otherwise at any time, have read no history but that of Utopia.

The Electors, it is true, were in more immediate danger from France; and it may be said that the mere instinct of self-preservation ought to have rallied them, without hesitation, to the Grand Alliance, and deterred them from giving ear to the proposals of Sweden and

Denmark; but even this is not very clear now, and was very much less so then. If they were to be dependent upon somebody,—in other words, upon the Grand Alliance, the *tiers parti*, or the King of France,—it is not at all obvious that the first was the most secure and profitable condition. As to Protestantism, for its own sake, there could be no superabundant enthusiasm; the German Princes were not by any means so securely grounded in their faith, as to stand very firm when apostasy offered any considerable contingent advantages. John Frederick of Hanover, Rudolph Augustus and Anton Ulric of Wolfenbüttel, became Roman Catholic; so did Frederick Augustus of Saxony, for the sake of the Polish Crown: so had Edward, Palatine of Simmern, Maximilian William of Brunswick, and a score of others done. As to the interests of Holland, which of course were dear to the Prince of Orange and the Elector of Brandenburg, how could they immediately affect the calculations of any one else? The Princes had got on very well for centuries while Holland was a province of Spain, and might have gone on quite as well with Holland a province of France. They certainly had no personal liking for the proud, repulsive, overbearing Republicans, of whose wealth and prosperity they were jealous, whose politics they characterized, with some reason, as unscrupulous, whose form of government they detested, and with whose religion they could not be reconciled. It must not be forgotten that a Lutheran will in general find it easier to agree with a Roman Catholic than a Calvinist in point of doctrine; in some respects he stands in a similar position towards the members of the Anglican Church; and both on this score, and on some grounds which are found to prevail at almost all periods of history, the

majority of German Princes were not very likely to care what became of England. It was always a matter of doubt whether Louis or the Emperor and his Allies would ultimately prevail: it was only certain that both sides would come out of the struggle much less formidable than at its commencement; and the doctrine of the Princes was not at all unreasonable, that Cæsar's loss was their gain. If they were appealed to in the name of loyalty, they had a ready answer: Loyalty begets loyalty! If they were threatened with the overgrown power of France, they could reply, that it could never be more dangerous to them than the duplicity and ambition of Austria.* But if they could have found a sufficient support in a League, at the head of which one of the principal Lutheran Princes stood, and thus established a great Protestant Power in the North of Germany, who shall say that they would not have done what was after all the best for Germany itself? Or is there any sane man now who believes that this separation must not one day come, and on the same ground of religious difference?

It is, as I have said, eminently fortunate for *us* that the Princes did not carry out this plan, which might so far have saved France as to change the whole after-current of English history. The only great man among them was the Elector of Brandenburg: on private as well as public grounds he was the firm friend of Holland and its Stadtholder; and although he died before the

* They did hold this language. The Elector of Saxony told Colt, in February, 1693, that "it was equall to him whether he was a slave to the Emperor or France." A little later, Cressett writes to Lexington, "The German Princes say the House of Austria is already as dangerous to them and their liberty as the House of Bourbon. Your lordship will think this odd language, but 'tis what I hear every day."—Lexington Papers, p. 73.

Grand Alliance was definitively formed, yet his principles of policy were maintained and carried out by the Danckelmanns, Schmettaus, Fuchses, and other Ministers who had grown up in his school; so that, in spite of every difficulty, the great politicians who ruled at the Hague and in London did succeed in forming the League which brought down the grey hairs of Louis in sorrow and ignominy to the grave, but which perhaps destroyed for ever the chance of creating a powerful and united Germany.

I have now sketched, though in a very slight manner, the principal features of this troubled period, as far as they are necessary for the due comprehension of the Letters which follow. It would have been ridiculous to attempt a detailed account of any one of the many important questions which were raised, or any closer description of any one of the great interests at stake; but still a few words of explanation seemed necessary, to lead the Reader to the meaning and significance of much that is merely indicated, and often intentionally involved in mystery. Nor have I thought it necessary to enter into any inquiry respecting the state of moral and mental culture at this time. It is indeed a subject of surpassing interest; but it demands a much more earnest and serious treatment than could be given to it within the limits of this Introduction. The Reader will find a good deal in the letters which will throw light upon it; only let him carefully bear in mind the fiery furnace through which a whole generation had passed, and remember that he is moving on a path which is on every side encumbered with ruins. A good deal of information, which it was not possible to introduce into this preliminary part of my Work, will be found in the biographical notes which here and there accompany the Correspondence.

It remains only to say a few words respecting the State Papers and Letters here collected and given to the Public. The greater number of them are found among Leibnitz's correspondence, preserved in Hanover; but several have been derived from other sources, of which the letters and Relations of Sir W. Colt and G. Stepney, now in the British Museum, may particularly be mentioned: a very few have also been derived from printed books, not generally known or accessible in this country. Nearly all the originals are written in French, and have therefore been translated into English. Although my renderings give back the sense of the originals, I will venture to say, with very tolerable accuracy, I must lament that much of the character of the letters is lost in this process of transfusion. On this account, where this character was of more moment than the positive historical facts,—where, in short, the manner was more noteworthy than the matter contained in a letter,—I have generally left it untranslated. This is the case with nearly all the correspondence of the Princes and Princesses of the Electoral House of Hanover. It must be confessed that it is absurd enough to find oneself compelled to reduce to English letters written by Englishmen in French,—in other words, to put into their mouths words which they themselves would not have used; but I am told that English gentlemen of education cannot or will not read French. I presume however that an attentive reader will not fail to perceive the difference between the letters written originally in English and those which I have transplanted from another tongue.

Here and there I have added Biographical Notices, which might serve to illustrate the history—and especially the family relations—of the period which the cor-

respondence comprises; and a complete Index renders reference to every name mentioned in the Letters easy. According to the original plan, the Work would have contained a very much greater number of these documents, and several more biographical sketches, which have been necessarily omitted, in order to bring the collection within the compass of a single volume. This must explain a certain want of balance visible in the Letters. In consequence of this change of plan, several documents have now become superfluous, which would have been otherwise duly in their places.

I am aware that it is not the present fashion to like what are called "the Materials for History," and that in general we prefer to take our history ready made. The plan is no doubt a convenient one, and spares trouble; but whether it is the most conducive to the discovery and establishment of truth, may be doubted. More than one work of good repute, in these days, might be named, which would have assumed other proportions, had a due study of historical materials either preceded its composition, or been likely to expose its deficiencies. But this evil tendency of our light literature does not dispense those who have been educated in a different school from doing what they believe to be necessary for the honest pursuit of historical truth. For my own part, I do not regret that the fear of finding very few readers did not for a moment cause me to waver in compiling the Anglo-Saxon Charters; and I feel daily that the wide use made of that Work fully justifies all the labour bestowed upon it. Who is there who will say that Ellis's Letters, or still older collections, such as Macpherson's, are not indispensable contributions to historical science? Or who will undervalue the admirable publications of similar mate-

rials, which have been produced in France, both by the industry of private inquirers, and the active interference of the Government? There is nothing which can more clearly prove the want of some such complete collection than the shortcomings of some of our most celebrated modern histories, when they deal with the Continental relations between the Thirty Years' and the Seven Years' Wars. Nothing has tended to put certain portions of English history in a clearer light than Mr. Bruce's late most interesting revelations respecting Charles the First.

It is often said, that the labour of reading such documents may be left to the professed historian, and that the public has nothing to do but with his results. The proposition is one that cannot lightly be agreed to. Not only is it possible that two persons may take different views of the same passage; but every conscientious student knows that at different periods, and under different circumstances, he takes different views himself. Let any one compare his own quotations on any given point with the originals, after an interval of years, and I think he will understand me. He will find, to his surprise, and, if an honest man, to his dismay, how often what once seemed clear as day has become indefinite and doubtful; how what once appeared positive proof dwindles down into probability, or ceases to have any relation to the exact matter which it was supposed to illustrate. This is the especial danger which we run if we neglect to verify all passages abstracted by us, and separated from the context, before we build up our theories upon them. And even at the very best, man is not infallible, and two pair of eyes will often see better than one, however practised the vision of the one pair may be. Where the documents themselves are accessible, all the world is made

the judge of the care, the qualifications, and the conscience of the writer that uses them: he works in broad daylight, and all his neighbours can tell whether he does his work like an honest man. None but a dishonest workman, one should think, would wish to labour in darkness; and none but a very weak thinker would desire to surrender his judgement, in implicit reliance upon the all-sufficient qualifications of another.

Though much has been done of late for the history of Europe between 1630 and 1800, very much still remains to be done, before we can form a clear picture of the stupendous movement which has been, and yet is, going on. The public acts alone, of Sovereigns or Generals or Statesmen, will not teach us all; still less will their public manifestoes and diplomatical relations do this. To know what they really are about, we must be with them in the privacy of their closets, and listen to the secret revelations which they reserve for their confidants. Correspondence is the most important material for modern history, as it is for ancient—when we can get it. The letters of the Popes teach us much more than the decrees of Councils; we learn more of Becket from John of Salisbury's correspondence than from a dozen editions of the 'Quadrilogus.'

I hope therefore that this small contribution to the history of the last years of the seventeenth and first of the eighteenth century, will not be altogether without its value. It shows us many persons who occupied an important place in the European councils of the time, in a more familiar light than the mere general histories have done. However imperfect, it still contains some new matter, which is valuable to him who would appreciate the spirit and tendencies of the times, and which helps

to place more immediately before us the modes of thought and action of those who moved at the head of them. In one respect particularly this collection of letters seems to me to deserve the attention of thinking men, and most of all, those who have studied the philosophy of the eighteenth century. They contain traits for a picture of one of its great heroes. They supply a good deal of illustration of one side (hitherto little noticed) of a great man's character. We have seen abundant materials for a life of Leibnitz as Jurist, Mathematician, Historian, Philosopher, and Theologian; but we see him here, nearly for the first time, as Politician, Courtier, Gentleman, and accomplished man of the world. It was due to his memory that this slight reparation should be made him by a fellow-countryman of those who have never shown a disposition to do him the justice he deserved. I can only lament that the limits imposed upon me have prevented its being more extensive and ample.

J. M. K.

November 15*th*, 1856.

STATE PAPERS AND LETTERS,

FROM

THE REVOLUTION TO THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

DE RÉBÉNAC.

François Du Pas, Marquis de Feuquières, was the second son of Isaac, a soldier and diplomatist of reputation, by Anne Louise, daughter of Antoine Duc de Grammont. With his wife he took the county of Rébénac in Béarn, and from that time forth styled himself Seigneur de Rébénac. He entered the diplomatic service of France, and was employed as Envoy to the Northern Courts, and to those of Brunswick-Lüneburg and Brandenburg. In 1683 he was resident at Vienna, where, by awakening the jealousy of the Emperor, he had the address to prevent that Prince's acceptance of 18,000 men, offered by the "Great Elector" for his service against the Turks and Hungarians. In 1685 he was despatched to Berlin, to remonstrate with Frederic William upon the countenance given in Brandenburg to the expatriated Huguenots. Subsequently De Rébénac was Envoy to Spain, to Savoy and other Italian States, and in 1692 he was employed at Rome to alarm the Pope as to the Emperor's designs upon Italy, in which mission he met with success. His famous speech to His Holiness against the Emperor's Alliance with William III.,

and that King's pretended views upon the Italian States, produced a clever answer, published at Cologne, under the title 'Réponse à un Discours tenu à Sa Sainteté, par M. de Rébénac, Envoyé du Roy très Chrestien.'

De Rébénac was born in 1650 and died in 1695.

De Falaiseau was a French refugee, who probably left France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was employed in the diplomatic service of Prussia, and resided for some time as Councillor of State and Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Stockholm, from whence he kept up an active correspondence with Danckelmann, Fuchs, and Schmettau. He was one of the Commissioners of Mediation, together with Fuchs and Lord Lexington, in 1692, to settle the quarrel between the King of Denmark and the Princes of Lüneburg respecting the fortifications of Ratzeburg. De Falaiseau appears at a later period to have left the Prussian service and retired to England. In 1706 he accompanied the Earl of Halifax (together with the Earl of Dorset and Mr. Addison) on that nobleman's mission to Hanover, to present the Acts of Succession and the insignia of the Garter; after this period I have lost sight of him. De Rébénac's letter obviously refers to the confiscation of De Falaiseau's property in France, and a plan devised to save at least a portion of it for him.

1.] DE RÉBÉNAC TO DE FALAISEAU.

Berlin, 12th April, 1686.

Sir,

I have seen, Sir, by the letter which you do me the honour to write, how much confidence you are pleased to place in my friendship. I shall begin by strengthening you in an opinion in which you appear to me persuaded, namely, that you will

have no reason to complain of having opened yourself to me, even if a thousand times as much were at stake as you know what. All that remains is, that I should have the means of serving you, and of setting about it in a useful way. Write to me, I beg, all the circumstances of your affairs, without however discovering your effects to me or the place where they are, but only their nature, that I may take the proper measures. For some time past the King has shown a wish to do me a favour, and by his commands my friends are looking out for an occasion for it. If your effects are concealed and are not discovered by the King's officers, I will apply for the confiscation of them for myself, and I will deal with you in the manner that you desire. Besides my word of honour which I give you upon it, and which, as far as I am concerned, would be the best assurance, I should be ready to give you others, even if it went as far as furnishing security. I do not offer to ask the confiscation for myself, and give it back to you entire. In that case I should be deceiving the King, against whose intentions I should be acting, and I should be doing myself considerable wrong, inasmuch as I should be rendering the good-will of my master towards myself of no effect. I do not think you will disavow me in this. But I will content myself with what you mention, and in short I will deal in the whole matter in a way to satisfy you. I await your answer, Sir, in order to take my measures, and I will act in the rest of the affair in concert with M. de Fuchs, to whom you and I shall be obliged to mark our gratitude. I am, Sir, with all the esteem and passion imaginable, etc. etc.,

RÉBÉNAC.

2.] DE HOVERBECK TO DE FALAISEAU.

Copenhagen, 28th January, 1687.

Sir,

As the present season is in every respect the most barren of the whole year, so is it also in news, and more so here than in any other place in Europe. Nothing is talked of

but hunting-parties, games, and other amusements of the sort, so that they seem to me quite to have forgotten business. That of Gottorf is the only one which now and then gives us something to talk of, and particularly with respect to the Mediation, which several powers have offered to the King. They have accepted that of his E. H. our master and that of the Elector of Saxony, which he offered by an express letter, in which he followed the example of his E. H. of Brandenburg. The Dukes of Zell and Hanover have indeed done the same, but without similar success. By order of his E. H. I have made several instances and remonstrances, in order to induce this Court to accept their good offices with regard to the proposed treaty for the settlement of the difficulties of Holstein, but without being able to prevent their meeting with refusal, as you will perceive by the annexed copy which one of my friends has communicated to me. The representations which M. de Smettau, in pursuance to his orders, made to the King and his ministers at Gottorf touching the interposition of the Emperor, were of such weight, that they caused the resolution to admit the ministers of the Emperor to the negotiation of the Treaty. And since, they have repeated the same declaration to me, on condition however that the Emperor should offer his mediation *ultrò*, as the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony have done; so that the said treaty should have no resemblance to a commission of the Emperor, which would only confirm the opinion which some people entertain that the differences of Holstein depend upon his conusance. And as they appear here to wish that the Court should be informed of this resolution by the minister of his E. H., in order that in the course of his notification he may lead it and dispose it to conform to the same, his E. H. has sent the necessary orders to M. Canitz, who, as you know, Sir, is at present at Vienna, and we must wait to see what effect they will produce. People have thought that Lieutenant-General Geise would make some difficulties in returning to this country and remaining in the service of the King, after they had come to the resolution of giving the command of the troops to General

Ahrendorff; but a day or two ago he wrote to the King, and declared he had no objection to put himself under M. d'Ahrendorff's orders in case of their taking the field together, if he be only allowed to keep his government of Holstein and the command there as he has hitherto had it. And since the King has granted him this favour, it is supposed he will make all the haste he can to Glückstadt for the purpose of taking possession of his charge. And it will be then also, that the Commissioners will be sent there, to make, in conjunction with him, an inquiry into the condition of the artillery. This, Sir, is all I have to tell you at this time, except that I am, etc. etc.,

D'HOVERBECK.

Paul Fuchs, the writer of several subsequent letters, was born in 1640 at Stettin, where his father was principal preacher and Superintendent, an office resembling that of a bishop. He studied at the Universities of Greifswald, Helmstadt, and Jena, travelled, and then practised as an Advocate in Berlin. In 1667 he was called to fill a Professor's Chair at Duisburg; in 1670 he became private Cabinet Secretary to the Great Elector, and in 1674 Privy Councillor. In 1700 he was ennobled, and four years later died in possession of the post of Minister of State and at War in actual service. So much from Bülau, 'Geheime Geschichten,' etc., vol. iii. p. 73. But from this letter it would seem that Fuchs assumed the noble *von* or *de* as early as 1688.

3.] DE FUCHS TO DE FALAISEAU.

Berlin, $\frac{\text{March } 30}{\text{April } 9}$, 1687.

Sir,

This is only to tell you that your relation of the $\frac{16}{26}$ of March has been received, that your reasoning on the subject of Pro-

testantism is found to be very just, that it is much approved of, and that an answer will not fail to be sent to you by the first ordinary, in expectation of hearing further from you on the subject. The news which I am about to tell you will no doubt surprise you extremely; that is, the unexpected death of our generous Margrave Louis: he fell sick *die palmarum*, which was a sacrament day, at which he attended with extraordinary piety. The disorder seized him with vomiting and pains of the stomach and in the belly; it was thought it was a colic. He lasted a week in this way without fever, and without any one's entertaining any alarm, and died all at once the second day of Easter. At the opening of the body, which was done by the express orders of his E. H., and against the wishes of the deceased, certain signs were found, which make us tremble, and judge that the illness of the Electoral Prince was not more natural, and that he was marked out for the same fate, from which God has preserved us. Their E. H. are inconsolable; and you may judge what our state is, who dread that the authors of a crime so execrable and hitherto so unknown in Germany will not stop here. I am, Sir, etc. etc.,

De Fuchs.

Addressed to M. de Falaiseau, Councillor of State to his E. H. of Brandenburg, and his Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of H. M. the King of Sweden, at Stockholm.

4.] De Fuchs to De Falaiseau.

Berlin, March $\frac{13}{23}$, 1688.

Sir,

You will receive annexed an instruction in the matter of Holstein, which will appear to you somewhat novel, but which has been well digested and subsequently projected by myself. It is clear that in no other way shall we ever come to an understanding in this great affair. There will still be many difficulties in persuading Denmark to this restitution of the Government of Gottorf, but it must be tried. I am well aware

that Sweden will not be pleased to see the Duke accept the countics, it being her object by the restitution of all Schleswig to have him put in a position to oppose himself to Denmark, and unite himself with her. But this is not the interest of the neighbouring States, who desire the preservation of peace; nor of the Duke himself, who would find himself again plundered of his estates before he had an opportunity of putting himself in a state of defence, or the Swedes could come to his assistance. I beg you to take this affair to heart, which, if it should happen to produce a war, would be the total ruin of the Protestant party, and would give France the Empire. On this account we must endeavour to take the best means we can to parry so fatal a blow. I shall set out in a week for Hamburg. I entreat you to inform me by every ordinary, of what takes place in this affair, for it is the last attempt which his E. H. will make for an amicable arrangement. I trust to your prudence, and that you will propose matters in such a way that no suspicion shall be entertained of the good and upright intentions of his E. H. I am, Sir, etc. etc.,

De Fuchs.

SOPHIA, ELECTRESS OF HANOVER: DUCHESS OF BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG.

Sophie, Princess of the Palatinate, for whom Providence had in store that great and noble destiny to become the source and original of our English Kings, was the twelfth child and fifth daughter of Elizabeth Stuart and Frederick, Elector-Palatine, the weak prince who accepted a crown he could not keep. At the time when she first saw the light, the fortunes of her House were reduced to the lowest ebb. Driven from Bohemia by the arms of Tilly, the son-in-law of James the First saw himself deprived of his Electorate, and banished from Germany. Persecuted by the Austrian party, against whom he could

not make head, and deserted by those whom he had brought into danger, but had not the energy to save, bankrupt at once in character and means, he was content to prolong an ignoble and uneasy life, under the weak and selfish patronage of Sweden, or on the alms, and under the protection, of the proud and intolerant republicans of Holland. From his father-in-law Frederick could hope no aid; the vassal of Spain was not allowed to have any tenderness for the enemy of Austria: and the deprived and despised King of Bohemia died about the commencement of those wars which cost his brother-in-law, the second Stuart, his throne and head, leaving a large family of children utterly without provision for the future. The elder brothers and sisters of Sophie were:

1. Henry Frederick, who at the early age of six years, in 1620, was designated King of Bohemia, by the Estates of that kingdom; together with his father. He is said to have been a prince of good promise, but died without finding any opportunity of displaying his qualities, having been drowned, while yet very young, upon the coast of Holland. He had gone out from Haarlem to visit some Spanish galleons: a large vessel at full sail, during the night, ran down the ship on board of which he was, and he perished, together with the whole crew.

2. Charles Louis, born in 1617, died in 1677, had in 1650 the good fortune to recover the dignity and estates which his father had forfeited. Of his daughter, Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orléans, I shall speak hereafter.

3. The third child, Elizabeth of Bavaria, was perhaps the most learned woman of her day, a time when very extensive learning was by no means a rare feminine accomplishment. Her passion for Descartes and his phi-

losophy has given her an imperishable name: Europe was astonished to behold a beautiful and high-born lady mastering the profoundest problems of metaphysical and mathematical thought, at an age when most other women think only of pleasing; but she was mistress also of six languages, and was as conversant with lighter literature as with the severe studies which excited the wonder of her contemporaries. "Dans son enfance," says M. Thomas, in his Éloge de Descartes, "sa mère lui avait appris six langues. Elle possédait parfaitement les Belles Lettres. Son génie la portait aux sciences profondes. Elle étudia la philosophie et les mathématiques. Mais dès que les premiers ouvrages de Descartes tombèrent entre ses mains, elle crut n'avoir rien appris. . . . Descartes lui trouva un esprit aussi facile que profond. En peu de temps elle se trouva au niveau de sa géométrie et de sa métaphysique. Bientôt après Descartes lui dédia ses Principes. Il la félicite d'avoir su réunir tant de connaissances, dans un âge où la plupart des femmes ne songent qu'à plaire." One princess had resigned a throne on the pretext of devoting herself more freely to a life of philosophical ease: Elizabeth, who was a better philosopher than Christina, refused to accept one on similar grounds. Ladislas, King of Poland, after the death of his first wife, Renée Cécile of Austria, was an unsuccessful suitor for her hand.* A terrible event in her house drove Elizabeth from her mother's protection. Scandal accused a French gentleman, named De l'Épinay, of too intimate relations with the widow of the King of Bohemia.† Her son Philip avenged the honour of his family by an assassination, to which Elizabeth either was, or by her mother was be-

* Ermann, Mém. de Soph. Charlotte, p. 8.

† Mém. de Du Maurier, p. 265.

lieved to be, privy.* Some men called it a duel, which it was not; others said it was chance-medley. The Queen believed the daughter to be of counsel with her son. Deprived of her home, and without the means of supporting her rank, the Princess wandered from place to place, sometimes finding a temporary refuge with her brother at Heidelberg, or his wife's family at Hesse Cassel; till at last a permanent provision was made for her in the Abbey of Hervorden. Here she resided till her death in 1680, when she had attained the age of sixty-one. At Hervorden, Elizabeth is said to have founded a sort of Academy of Philosophy, over which she presided; and divided her leisure hours between squabbles with the municipality of the town, and the half-crazy speculations of mystical sectaries. Here she continued also to correspond with Descartes until his death, which occurred more than thirty years before her own. The letters interchanged between these two profound but strange thinkers, however interesting in one sense, are not such as to find a place in this collection. Those, on the other hand, addressed to her brother Charles Louis of the Palatinate, are neither of an interesting nor scientific character; referring in general to family disputes about the property she believed herself entitled to claim from him; or complaining of the short quantity, or poor quality, of the wine which the owner of the vineyards of Deidesheim and Forst supplied for the use of his sister's table. No other

* Ermann observes, that this fact, if the tale be true, would help to complete the parallel between Elizabeth and Christina, and form a pendant to the murder of Monaldeschi. But the Princess of the Palatinate was a much more reputable personage than the Ex-Queen of Sweden; and the death of De l'Épinay, even at the worst, was hardly so inexcusable as that of Monaldeschi. It passed at the time as a duel, and was at the worst but "chance medley."

correspondence of hers has passed through my hands: but I should imagine, from incidental notices which I have met with, that she was not always on good terms with her family, and that the qualities of her head were superior to those of her heart.

4. The fourth child of Frederick and Elizabeth was Ruprecht or Robert, better known in the wars of Charles I. as Prince Rupert; of whom a not very creditable anecdote is recorded by his niece, namely, the deception of Madame de Bellamont by a mock marriage, while residing under her father's roof in Ireland.* He was a brave but not a prudent soldier, an excellent trooper, but very middling commander. The most to his credit was the attempt, after the Restoration, to keep Charles II. to moderate measures: on this subject he spoke out. When Charles dissolved the Parliament at Oxford, and made his retreat, or rather flight to Windsor, Rupert lost no time in seriously remonstrating with him. A MS. memorial addressed to the Electress Sophia, about 1700, and devoted to an explanation of the state of Parties and Principles of Government in England, relates: "I have heard it with great confidence reported, that the good old Prince Rupert, joining him there next day, told him in plain English, 'By God, you'll ne'er have done following your father's course till you come to the same misfortune!'" Prince Ruprecht spent his last years in England, taking little part in public affairs. A life, the earlier part of which had been passed amid civil broils and warfare, was closed among pursuits of peace and science. The chemical researches of the Prince gave to our manufactures the metallic alloy which from him is called Prince's

* Madame to the Raugravine Amalie, January 28th, 1705.—Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 86.

Metal, and to his observation we owe great improvements in mezzotinto engraving. He died in 1682, in time to escape the sight of the ruin which the intractable spirit of the last English Stuart irrevocably drew down upon that doomed House.

5. The fifth child, Maurice, is also known for the part he took in the civil war. On the total ruin of the King's party he found a refuge in America, and was, I believe, never again heard of. He is supposed to have gone down in a storm in the West Indies.

6. The second daughter, and sixth child, was Louise Hollandine, of whom little that is creditable is known to us. Her violent passions betrayed her into a profligate and openly scandalous life. While yet a young girl she fled from her mother's protection, upon pretence of adopting the Roman Catholic religion, and long wandered about, leaving her family in ignorance of all that concerned her. At length, worn out with her irregular and troubled course, she found refuge in, and became Abbess of, Maubuisson in France, without, as it appears, assuming in any degree a deportment more suited to this dignified ecclesiastical position. She died in her convent in 1709, being then in her eighty-sixth year. Louise Hollandine had some talent as an artist: many of her portraits still clothe the walls of the house which formerly belonged to the Walmoden family in the George Park, Hanover: they show a good deal of study, and much facility in handling the pencil; and they are sometimes interesting, from having preserved to us the features of persons who played a part in the social or political circles of the Hanoverian House. In her later years she corresponded with her sister Sophie, and was visited by her niece, the Duchess of Orléans; one or two of her letters are found in this collection, and

many, sometimes very strange, allusions are made to her in the correspondence of Madame.

7. The fifth son was Louis, who died in childhood.

8. Edward, born in 1625, became a Roman Catholic, and died in 1663, in the military service of France. He married the Princess Gonzaga, sister to Marie Louise, who was successively the wife of Ladislas and Casimir, Kings of Poland. One of his daughters by this lady became the wife of the Prince de Condé; another of them married John Frederick, Duke of Hanover, and had the satisfaction before her death, of seeing one of her daughters, Benedicte, Duchess of Modena; the other, Amalie, Empress of Germany.

9. Henriette Marie was born in 1626. She married Sigismund Ragozzi, Prince of Transylvania, and died in 1661.

10. Philip, born in 1627, was killed in battle in 1650.

11. Charlotte was born in 1628, and died in 1631.

12. The twelfth and last child was Sophie, Princess Palatine, by marriage Duchess, and then Electress of Brunswick, and, by settlement of the English Parliament, successor to the throne of England, on the demise of Anne. She was born in Holland on 13th October, 1630, two years before the death of her father, and during the period of his total ruin; her education was therefore left entirely to her mother. If Elizabeth had inherited some evil tendencies from her grandmother, it must nevertheless be confessed that she did her duty well, in early and severely training the minds and talents of her own children. Vanity and love of dress, which do not appear to me to have been offensively developed in her daughters, are said to have been her besetting sins. To a reproach of her own was attributed her husband's fatal

acceptance of the Bohemian crown: "If you are afraid to be a King," said she, "you should not have ventured to marry a King's daughter!" Even her daughter, the Abbess of Maubuisson, does not fail to remark that she was always filled with childish delight on getting a new dress; and if the tale of De l'Épinay be true, there were other and even less creditable points of resemblance in the characters of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, and Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. But she knew that her children had a dreary and a difficult path to tread, and a hard battle with the world to fight. If they were destined to feel the loss of all the gifts of fortune; if rank, devoid of means to support it, would only be for them a stone of offence and a cause of dissatisfaction and misery, she was resolved to give them at least that moral training which might enable them to find in their own resources a compensation for what the outward world would not confer. We have already seen that she had taught her eldest daughter six languages; and Sophie appears, from many trustworthy evidences, to have spoken fluently a still greater number. English, Dutch, and German, she may be said to have been born to: to them she added Italian, Spanish, Latin, and French, which last language she spoke and wrote with remarkable grace and correctness. She delighted in the society of learned and accomplished men, and none knew better than herself how to unite the amenities of life with graver speculations upon its ends and objects. If her knowledge of abstruse philosophical questions fell short of that possessed by her elder sister, her natural sense and talents are known to have been in nothing inferior to hers, and it is clear that she much exceeded Elizabeth not less in practical knowledge of the world, than in the milder virtues of the

womanly character. Chevreau, a very competent judge, mentions the two princesses together with great praise, but contrasts their different qualities: he says, "J'ose dire que la France n'a point de plus bel esprit que Madame la Duchesse d'Hanovre d'aujourdhuy; ni personne plus solidement savante, que Madame Elisabeth de Bohème, sa sœur."* At an advanced period of her life, Bishop Burnet could still speak of her as the most knowing and most entertaining woman of the age.†

The twelfth child of a banished King and of a widowed mother, one too whose uncle had terminated his reign and life so tragically, cannot be supposed to have had any brilliant prospects or exorbitant pretensions. The youngest brother of three Dukes of Hanover offered her his hand, and was accepted. Towards the end of September, 1658, she became the wife of Ernest Augustus, then Bishop of Osnabrück, under the provisions of the Treaty of Westphalia.‡ A higher alliance however seemed to be at one time within her reach. In a letter from Madame we are told that the King of the Romans had been subjugated by her charms, and would have married her, but for his unexpected death. This must have been the Emperor Leopold's elder brother, Ferdinand IV., who died of small-pox in 1654, in the twenty-first year of his age, and who from all accounts appears to have been a prince of great promise. Assuredly a strange

* Chevreana, i. 91.

† "She was then seventy-five; but had still so much vivacity, that as she was the most knowing and the most entertaining woman of the age, so she seemed willing to change her scene, and to come and shine among us here in England."—*Own Times*, ii. 434.

‡ Sophie was now in her twenty-eighth, Ernest Augustus in his twenty-ninth year. He was born in 1629, and died after long suffering in 1698, Titular Elector of Hanover.

sport of fortune had this been so; had the daughter of Frederick married the grandson of Ferdinand, and made it necessary, perhaps, to establish a different line of succession in England!

Little as at this time her union with the cadet of a fallen House appeared to promise, a great and glorious lot was fated to be the brilliant close of a life commenced in sorrow and exile. She lived to see her husband and son become the possessors of all the scattered portions of territory which had been the inheritance of elder branches of her family; to attain the dignity of the Electorate, which placed her House upon a level with the proudest Houses of the Empire; to become the mother of a Queen in Prussia; nearly to become a Queen in England; and even if she lost that great glory for herself, to know that she left the rich and powerful succession to her son.* Yet was this happiness not unalloyed, nor was she placed beyond the reach of many sorrows with which the irony of fate delights to compensate the unequal distribution of worldly prosperity. Neither in her husband nor her children could Sophie find unmingled satisfaction. With many great and generous qualities, Ernest Augustus was not at all exempt from faults which especially influence

* On the death of John Frederick in 1679, without heirs male, Ernest Augustus succeeded to the sovereignty of Calemberg, or Hanover. In 1692, in spite of the most determined opposition on the part of the other members of the Electoral College and the Princes of the Empire, he obtained the erection of Hanover to a ninth Electorate. In 1705, her son George Louis, afterwards King of England in 1714, re-united with his own the possessions of his father-in-law, Duke George William of Zell, also deceased without male issue. In 1700 her son-in-law, Frederick of Brandenburg, exchanged the electoral hat for a royal crown. In 1701 an embassy from England brought over to her the Act of Succession; and had she lived only a few weeks longer than she did, she would herself have mounted the throne of this country.

the happiness of women. His military skill, and his penetration in the cabinet, had shown him to be a man of no ordinary capacity, and gave a favourable impression of the clearness of his judgment and the firmness of his will: but these qualities had not wholly saved him from succumbing to weaknesses, for which he could indeed plead some excuse in the then lax state of domestic morality, when conjugal fidelity could hardly be numbered among princely virtues. A person which, while youth lasted, was graceful and yet dignified, much amiability of temper, and a liberal disposition, recommended him to the fairer members of his Court, and it cannot be denied that Sophie had cause to complain of her husband's levities. But complain she did not: whatever vagrant fancies she might have to deplore, she seems never to have doubted her possession of his heart: a less beautiful and accomplished woman might indeed have been excused for thinking herself capable of inspiring a real and lasting passion; and Ernest Augustus at no time forgot the respect, and at least the outward show of affection, which were due to his admirable consort, or suffered others to forget the attention which she had a right to claim. I think it not unlikely that she was blessed with a contented disposition, which enabled her to bear with equanimity certain descriptions of inconvenience which custom, at that bad time, made appear inevitable; and in truth most women of good-breeding possess an instinctive pride which leads them to conceal their real feeling respecting a neglect which is no compliment to their charms. Chevreau relates that on one occasion, when they were at Venice, some meddling mischief-maker pointed out to her the Elector engaged in somewhat close conversation with a beautiful Italian woman,

and that she contented herself with replying, "Il m'importe peu que M. le Duc promène son cœur toute la journée, pourvu que le soir il me le rapporte,"*—a rebuke for an uncalled-for and impertinent interference. More important is it that in a voluminous correspondence, much of which was of the most confidential character, her biographer Feder could find no word which marked her dissatisfaction with the conduct of her husband; and the tenderness with which she discharged every duty of a wife during the Elector's last long and wearisome illness, attracted the admiration and won the applause of her contemporaries. After his death she wrote a letter to his old servant, Von Ilten, which gives a very lively picture of the state of her feelings towards him, and proves with what a real affection she cherished the memory of the past. One circumstance there is which almost seems to show that she carried her complaisance to a very unusual extent. After the catastrophe of John Christopher, Count Königsmark, in which the Countess von Platen was well known to have been deeply concerned, his sister Marie Aurora had been very unsparing in her comments upon the character and conduct of that lady. On this occasion the Electress thought it necessary to interfere, and wrote an angry letter to the young Countess, in defence of the woman who, it was impossible for her not to know, was, and long had been, her husband's mistress. I confess I can only explain this upon the supposition, that she felt it to be of the utmost moment to cast a veil over all the circumstances connected with that dreadful affair; and that if she were compelled to endure the daily presence of Madame von Platen, she still did not choose to have the scandal of her own Court

* Chevreana, i. 141.

made the subject of injurious comments in a foreign one. The feelings of the wife may here have yielded to the urgency of the Electress's position.

It is surprising that a woman endowed with so much sound sense, and so much practical knowledge and tact, as the Electress, should have exercised so little real influence as she did upon public affairs, in which the interests of her House were deeply involved: yet this seems to have been the case, and that, on any subjects but such as concerned the management of her family and household, her opinion was rarely asked. I am well aware that this is a point upon which different authorities have decided differently; but after having read and balanced the conflicting evidence which Feder has collected, I can only come to a conclusion in the negative.* It does not seem possible to judge otherwise from the distinct and positive assertion of Von Ilten, who was most intimately acquainted with every detail of Ernest Augustus's life, and was long one of his most trusted servants and ministers. In a yet unpublished biography of the Elector, he says, "Elle fut toujours tenue éloignée et sans crédit dans les affaires, et par son mari et par son fils, qui laissoient à sa disposition tous les agrémens de leurs cours, dont elle faisoit l'ornement et les honneurs, avec cette dignité et noblesse accompagné d'aisance, qui en fait l'agrément, et qui est si difficile aux princesses d'attraper." On the sole question of the succession in England, in which she was most nearly concerned, but which was first mooted after her husband's death, she appears to have exercised a more direct and independent power. It could not in fact well be otherwise, since it was in her, and not in her son, that the inheritance was

* Feder, Sophie Churfürstin v. H., p. 37.

vested. On any other subject however there can be no doubt that George Louis allowed her as little influence as her husband had done; it is indeed only too certain that this prince's conduct to his mother was marked by harshness and neglect. Madame often expresses her dissatisfaction with this state of estrangement between two persons so nearly related to her, and does not at all spare the Elector, whose coolness both to the Electress and to his own children was at all times the subject of remark and disapprobation. She writes to the Raugravine, on 22nd April, 1702: "That the Elector is a dry and disagreeable gentleman I had opportunity enough to discover when he was here; . . . but where he is entirely in the wrong, is the manner in which he lives with his mother, to whom he is in duty bound to show nothing but respect. Suspiciousness, haughtiness, and avarice, make this Elector what he is: . . . I observe often enough in Ma Tante's letters, (though she does not speak it out,) that she is ill-satisfied. The worst is, that this Elector has no good natural disposition, as is evident from his manner of going on with his brothers."* Again she says, January 4th, 1715: "I suspect however that this good King inquires very little about those whom his mother loved."† And, June 9th, 1718: "This King of England, who is so dreadfully alarmed lest any one should imagine that he lets himself be ruled, how can he submit to be led in this way by *that* Bernstorff, and against his own children too!"‡

There is a good deal more in the same strain scattered throughout Madame's letters: it is fair to say that she particularly disliked George Louis, who had offended her by some want of courtesy towards herself; and that

* Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 68. † *Ibid.*, vi. 196. ‡ *Ibid.*, vi. 305.

she generally takes care not to let any of her pictures remain too faint in their tone for want of colour: nevertheless it is not probable that she has exaggerated on this occasion. The Electress, though not much given to complaining, does certainly hint here and there that matters are not on the right footing between herself and her son; and in some of her letters we detect a gentle insinuation, that her recommendation in favour even of old and tried servants of her house is not likely to meet with attention from him.

But although the direct interference of the Electress with public affairs may be denied, there was another sphere in which her personal influence must have been actively exerted and continually felt. Among the multifarious interests which were to be conciliated ere all the objects of the Serene House could be attained, it is impossible that such a woman as Sophie should not have played an important part. Her court of Hanover, and still more her intimate circle at Herrenhausen,* were celebrated throughout Europe for the dignified and graceful intercourse with men of good breeding and learning, in which she personally appeared to so much advantage. Here were gathered round her women of lofty station and cultivated manners, remarkable for their grace and beauty or distinguished by their wit. Sophie Charlotte of Prussia, as amiable and as clever as her mother, took

* This country-house, about two miles from Hanover, is built in the stiff French style, with large gardens, decorated or deformed by a profusion of bad statues, fountains, and clipped beech and hornbeam hedges. These however were, and still are, full of nightingales, which the Electress loved. Her apartments in this château have lately been restored to the state in which they were when she talked pleasant scandal here with her daughter, the Queen of Prussia, and Caroline of Anspach, or laughed at Leibnitz's jests, and dictated her correspondence with half the *beaux esprits* of Europe.

refuge here from the wearisome pomp of her own Court, and the pedantry of her heavy husband; here Caroline, the future Queen of England, her beloved daughter-in-law, hung on the eloquent lips of Leibnitz discussing the providential scheme of the world, the perfectibility of man, and drawing even out of evil proofs of the wisdom, justice, and mercy of God. Here were to be found the light, vivacious Frenchman, the grave and travelled Englishman, attracted by the fame of her society and the charms of her conversation; and here was the central point to which news of every description from every corner of Europe continually flowed, to be again continually dispersed for the amusement and instruction of her correspondents. In this society the pious and learned Molanus, the polished and deeply read Hortensio Mauro, laid aside for awhile their severer studies; here Händel preluded to those sublime strains which have given to him among composers the same rank which Milton occupies among poets; and here, above all throned, the great intellectual giant of the age, to whom questions touching the profoundest metaphysics or the lightest art were equally welcome and familiar; who was as well versed in the history of ancient realms and peoples as in the politics of his own day, the intrigues or the gossip of contemporary courts; who devised stupendous machinery today for the mines in the Hartz whence the Electors derived their wealth, and tomorrow must inevitably be consulted as to the hanging of a picture or the furnishing of a boudoir; who founded academies of science and art, and laboured in vain with Bossuet to find some common ground of reconciliation between Protestant and Catholic, yet refused a cardinal's hat and the librarianship of the Vatican, offered him on condition

of apostasy; the friend of Bernoulli, the correspondent, and, unhappily, at length the opponent of Newton; the dexterous negotiator and the most lively and amusing of letter-writers; the most universal man perhaps of whom the history of letters has to tell. In such a circle, drawn together by such a woman, how much must not have been won, which mere diplomatic notes, memorials, and deductions could never have brought to pass! How many difficulties, envenomed and complicated by mere official communications,—"ces vaines paroles dont la politesse des ministres assaisonne l'âpreté des refus,"*—must not have yielded to the charm of her conversation and the irresistible graces of her manners! Nor are we left here to mere conjecture, or the assertion of a probability; we know that she by such means gained over, in one important conjuncture, the all-powerful Minister of Prussia, the Count of Wartenberg, much as it must have cost her to admit his profligate and low-born but influential wife, the mistress *en titre* of Frederick I., and rival of her own daughter, to her presence. Nor can it be doubted that principally to herself was due the ultimate reconciliation of the Houses of Hanover and Wolfenbüttel, so long distracted by the conflict of adverse family interests. Enough remains on record to show that Duke Anton Ulric, deeply wounded and humiliated as he had been by the Dukes of Hanover and Zell, was captivated by his enchanting relative, and suffered all his jealousy of the cognate branches of his House to melt away under her peace-making hand. To the last moment of his life he continued to regard her with affectionate interest, and delighted in her visits to Wolfenbüttel, where all the resources of his splendid Court were put in requisition for her amusement.

* Fred. II., Mém. de Brandenb. i. 123, 4th ed.

By her marriage with Ernest Augustus, Sophie became the mother of seven children :—

1. George Louis, born May 28th, 1660, Elector in 1698, and in 1714 King of England; married in 1682 to Sophia Dorothea of Zell, his cousin; and died in 1727.

2. Frederick Augustus, born October 3rd, 1661; became a Major-General in the Imperial service, and fell, December 31st, 1698, in battle against the Turks in Transylvania.

3. Maximilian William, born December 23rd, 1666; died in 1726, with the rank of Field-Marshal in the Imperial service.

4. Sophie Charlotte, born $\frac{1\cdot0}{2\cdot0}$ October, 1668, at her father's residence of Iburg, near Osnabrück; married 6th October, 1684, Frederick, the Electoral Prince of Brandenburg and afterwards the first King of Prussia; died at Hanover, February 11th, 1705.

5. Charles Philip, born 13th October, 1669, at Iburg; fell in battle against the Turks, January 1st, 1690.

6. Christian, born 29th September, 1671, at Heidelberg; rose to the rank of a Major-General in the Imperial service; was drowned 31st July, 1703, in the Danube, in the retreat from Minderkingen, while attempting to rescue another person from the same fate.

7. Ernest Augustus, born 17th September, 1674; became Bishop of Osnabrück in 1715, and died in 1728.

In these her children Sophie was not entirely or equally happy. During several years of her life she had to struggle with the natural anxiety, how to provide for a large family of princes upon the meagre appanage of a Bishop of Osnabrück, and the youngest of her children was already five years of age, when her husband succeeded his brother in the Dukedom of Calemberg. Employment in foreign

courts or armies was the only resource for her princes, and hence we find them nearly all in the temporary or permanent service of the Emperor. But here their promotion was far from rapid, probably for want of the most obvious and usual means of advancement.* Only by slow degrees did some of them attain to high rank and profitable employment. They seem however not to have been wanting in soldierlike qualities: George Louis served with credit against the Turks, and the courage and conduct of his brothers merited and received the approbation of their superiors. We still possess two public letters of the Emperor Leopold, conveying the Imperial thanks to Prince Charles Philip, a colonel in his armies.†

The effect of George Louis's cold, repulsive manners upon his mother has been already noticed. But in one terrible event of his life a blow was struck, whose consequences long overclouded her household happiness. A dark veil of mystery still conceals many of the circumstances of this domestic tragedy, and it is possible that the whole truth respecting it may never be revealed to the public. I shall touch but gently upon it, and say no more than is necessary and unavoidable in a sketch of the fortunes of this House: but what I shall say is the result of a conscientious and extensive study of all the evidence which has at any time been allowed to transpire, and a careful examination of what has from time to time

* Sophie thought that her son Frederick Augustus did not push himself sufficiently at the Court of Vienna, where he obtained his promotion to the rank of Major-General only in 1689. Poverty may possibly have retarded this advancement, yet the attainment of a Major-General's rank at the age of twenty-eight does not seem a thing to be dissatisfied with.

† Dated 27th August and 8th October, 1689, the year before his death.—Feder, Sophie, p. 192.

been written by previous inquirers. The reader will perceive that I allude to the fate of John Christopher, Count of Königsmark, and the consort of George Louis, Sophie Dorothée, Duchess of Ahlden. The elder brother of Ernest Augustus, Duke George William of Zell, had in early life formed an attachment and entered into a *liaison* with a beautiful French girl, Eléonore d'Esmières, a lady of the family D'Olbreuse, the issue of which was a daughter, Sophie Dorothée. By his interest with the Court of Vienna, which he supported with troops, money, and advice, he had obtained for this lady the patent of German nobility, next, that of princely rank, and finally, by changing his *morganatic* or left-handed marriage for a regular one, had made her a Duchess, and legitimated her daughter as a Princess of the House of Brunswick. Madame, whose hatred of a *mésalliance* nothing could soften, frequently speaks with great asperity of this marriage, and declares that the Duchess of Zell might have thought herself a happy woman had she ever obtained the preferment of marrying a gentleman of Monsieur's household. Eléonore d'Olbreuse was a lady of very good family, and many excellent qualities: to judge from the pictures and medals which I have seen of her, she must have been a woman of rare personal charms; and all accounts concur in representing her as accomplished and virtuous. Nor is the nature of her connection with the Duke in any way a contradiction of this favourable judgment: a morganatic marriage is a marriage before God and man, although it could not raise the wife to the rank of her husband, or give to the children of such a union the succession to fiefs held of the Empire. The Duchess appears to have been tenderly attached to her husband, and to have watched with care over the education of their only child,

who inherited a good deal of her own vivacity and beauty. During Sophie Dorothée's childhood, and before the acknowledgment of her rank as a Princess of Brunswick, John Christopher of Königsmark, descended from one of the wealthiest and most powerful families in Germany and Sweden, had long been an inmate of her father's Court. It may be that a childish passion grew up between them, and that this, even if perceived, would not have been looked upon as at all inadmissible by either parent. The Königsmarks had intermarried with Kings and Princes: their alliances were more splendid than those of almost any subject in Europe; their landed property exceeded in extent and value the dominions of many a Prince of the Empire; their wealth was fabulously great. Mademoiselle d'Olbreuse might consider herself fortunate in a union even with the cadet of such a house; and John Christopher was not without personal qualities which captivate the fancy and influence the feelings of women. But with the recognition of Duke George's marriage, and the elevation of Eléonore to the rank of a sovereign Duchess, the scene was changed. A Princess, the heiress of a large part of north Germany, with flourishing towns and noble harbours, had pretensions to something more than the coronet of a Swedish Countess. John Christopher too, before the girl had grown into the woman, had left Zell to pursue that adventurous life which seems to have been an inborn and inevitable necessity for every scion of his House. During this interval the fortunes of the Königsmarks had declined. The extravagant splendour of their housekeeping had embarrassed them: the confiscation of their fiefs and domains, under Charles XI.'s edict of Reunion,* consummated their ruin. If

* See this explained in detail under the head of J. R. Patkul.

any affection still continued to subsist between the two young people, it was become imperative that it should be forgotten. Higher alliances, in which the interests of the ducal House were the points most to be considered, were now proposed for Sophie Dorothée: as with other Princesses in all times, her heart was less thought of than the advantages to be gained by a prudent disposal of her hand. The nearest object was a reconsolidation of the dominions of the House of Brunswick, at this period partitioned among various more or less direct descendants of Henry the Lion, the great Duke of Saxony. The House of Wolfenbüttel (now represented by the Dukes of Brunswick-Oels) and that of Calemberg, were the two which came into consideration; and not only the suggestions of policy, but private feeling caused the scale of the former to preponderate in Duke George's councils. The son of Duke Anton Ulric, joint regent of Wolfenbüttel, was accepted as the future husband of the heiress of Zell. But this marriage, whose consequences, not less to Hanover than to the unhappy Princess herself, would have been most momentous, was fated not to take place: the bridegroom, who is said to have been an amiable and accomplished Prince, died before the completion of the nuptials. His younger brother seems now to have been thought of to supply his place; but in the meantime Sophie, alive to the importance of uniting Lüneburg with Calemberg, and to the necessity of preventing its junction with Wolfenbüttel, succeeded in winning over Bernstorff, the powerful minister at Zell, effected a complete reconciliation between Duke George and his brother, and obtained the consent of the former to the ill-omened marriage of his daughter with her own son.* George Louis

* November 11, 1682.

himself appears to have entered into this alliance with a repugnance which was not likely to improve his sullen and morose temper. Like his father, the Elector,* he was under the dominion of an artful and intriguing woman: both the mistresses felt the danger which might arise to their power from the influence of a young, a gay, a beautiful and virtuous Princess, the consort of the Heir-apparent, and combined to effect her ruin. Years passed, during which they caballed to bring her into discredit with the Elector; with George Louis their game was won even before it was commenced. The Princess soon found herself isolated in the strange Court to which she had been transplanted. From her husband she had nothing to hope: the Elector treated her indeed with civility, but the profligate Countess von Platen had possession of his ear, and even the Electress was unable to stem the torrent. We cannot wonder that she repaid neglect with contempt and hatred, or that she despised the man who could sacrifice her, in the full bloom of her youth and beauty, to women every way inferior to herself in every grace of mind and person. At this conjuncture, so dangerous to a woman, Königsmark returned to Germany, and entered the military service of Hanover in command of a regiment; his rank, as well as his magnificence, made him a constant and welcome visitor at Court; and Sophie Dorothée eagerly sought the sympathy and support of her old playmate, and made no secret of the favour with which she regarded him. This conduct, natural as it was, was at the least imprudent, and was skil-

* I call him the Elector, although he had not yet attained that dignity. The marriage of his son to Duke George's daughter was no doubt one of the measures directed to overcome the Duke of Zell's opposition to the creation of a ninth Electorate, by which his younger brother would be raised above himself.

fully turned to her disadvantage. Königsmark was handsome and agreeable, but vain, weak, unprincipled, and illiterate. In a Court where so scandalous an example was set in the highest quarters, a lax system of morality prevailed: he soon became notorious for his *bonnes fortunes*, and at length, to his misfortune, attracted the fancy of the Elector's mistress. This cheap conquest was the cause of his tragical fate. Countess von Platen, a woman of violent passions, although no longer young, was subject to that of jealousy. The tyranny she exerted over Königsmark produced coolness and aversion: made keen-sighted by anger and suspicion, she placed spies upon all his steps, and soon found, or affected to find, that an illicit passion for the Princess was at the root of his estrangement from herself. At this time, Königsmark, with a strange instinctive feeling which often surprises and alarms us in reading the history of such men, had determined upon leaving the Hanoverian service, and had actually entered that of the Elector of Saxony, with the higher rank of a Major-General. His departure was to be the signal for a scandal and a crime. Even those who still contend for the innocence of Sophie Dorothée are compelled to admit that it was her intention to leave her father-in-law's Court, and that Königsmark was to be the companion of her flight, all the arrangements for which she had confided to his management. But the slightest movements of both were watched, and on the night preceding the day on which Königsmark had announced his attention of leaving Hanover, he was surprised and assaulted in a part of the palace which he was obliged to traverse on descending from the Princess's apartments. It may be that the orders given were only to arrest him, but that having drawn his sword to defend

himself he was struck down by a partisan, and shortly breathed his last. This appears now to be a more probable account than the many wild fables which were current at the time of his disappearance, and have since been frequently repeated. At all events his body seems to have been buried at once under the stone floor of the chamber or corridor in which he fell, and is said to have been discovered not many years ago, during some repairs and alterations of the basement story. The sequel of this tale is soon told: the Princess and her confidential attendants were subjected to the most searching interrogations, but steadily refused to inculpate themselves, and persisted to the last in denying the existence of any criminal intercourse. Either the failure of means to procure, or disinclination to give the world the scandal of a conviction, counselled a measure which might set George Louis free from his matrimonial fetters, without absolutely compromising his honour as a husband. A suit was commenced by him in the Consistorial Court of Hanover, against his wife, for malicious desertion, and praying restitution of conjugal rights. On her refusal to return to him, the Court pronounced sentence of divorce in his favour. By her father she was sent to the Castle of Ahlden, where she was detained, at first in strict, and afterwards in mitigated custody, and where she died very shortly before the death of George I. would probably have restored her to freedom. Although this is a sketch of the Electress's life, and not a history of Sophie Dorothée, I cannot forbear a few reflections upon this painful piece of family history. The one question which alone can interest us is this—Was Sophie Dorothée really guilty of the crime laid to her charge, and which she was condemned to expiate by a life-long imprisonment? The

precautions taken to conceal as much as possible all traces of this affair make it difficult to give an answer: yet from what has transpired, I find myself compelled to reply in the affirmative. It is in my opinion utterly impossible to read the extracts from her correspondence with Königsmark, preserved in the University archives at Lund, in Sweden, and published by Palmblad, without coming to the same conclusion. It is not to be expected that a woman, even in her letters to her lover, should in direct terms inform him of what he himself must be well aware, that she has granted him every favour in her power to bestow; and the Princess certainly may claim the benefit of having made no such direct avowal. But she does write in a strain which could only be adopted by a woman who had sacrificed every thought of duty; and his letters, full of coarseness and indelicacy, of violent jealousy and angry reproach, of stories which it is difficult to imagine a gentleman's writing to any woman, of allusions which admit of only one explanation, leave no doubt upon my mind that the Princess had not successfully contended with temptation. It makes but little difference whether she had actually dishonoured her husband, or only meant to do so, when she should succeed in placing herself beyond the reach of his vengeance; she was prepared to fly with Königsmark: she writes over and over again that her only hope of happiness lies in escaping from her tyrant in order to devote her life to her lover; she offers to conceal him for days together in her apartments; she breathes not one word of reproach, nor shows a trace of indignation at the tone of his letters to her; she excuses herself as best she can when he is jealous; when he is absent she manifests herself all the symptoms of jealousy. It seems to me

that the conclusion is inevitable; and it is only upon the supposition that her guilt was too clearly proved to be for a moment doubtful, that we can understand the harsh treatment which she suffered at the hand of her father. How thoroughly the secret was kept, even from those for whom few things were secret, appears from a letter of Madame, written shortly after the fatal *éclat* at Hanover. She says:* "The Duchess has more reason than anybody to be distressed at her daughter's misfortune, for had she not brought her up in early youth to coquetry and gallantry, she would not have fallen into the scrape she has now got into. There are people here who will not say that she is not guilty; and a young person who lets herself be kissed and pulled about as she did, is likely enough to suffer all the rest." Had she been informed as to the true state of the case, she would hardly have written in this manner to so near a relative as her own sister; but every possible precaution was taken at Hanover to hush up the whole affair; even the ambassadors at foreign Courts received instructions as to what they were to say, and the open accusations of the Königsmark family were never openly answered. It seems to me that all these circumstances are corroborative of the view I take, that the Princess really was a guilty woman. That in later years her mother obtained permission to visit her at Ahlden, or that her son George Augustus sometimes stole over to her *incognito*,† cannot certainly be quoted as proofs that they believed her in-

* To the Raugravine, April 29th, 1702 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 70). Menzel must surely have misdated this letter.

† Lord Hervey tells us that he never mentioned his mother, not even inadvertently nor indirectly, any more than if such a person had never had a being. (Mem. ii. 542.) Mr. Croker's observation upon this passage is just. George II. may have had some affection for his mother,

nocent. My conclusion is that she sinned, yet that she was more sinned against than sinning; that she was exposed to temptation, but did not sufficiently resist it; that she was goaded into ruin, but did not struggle as she might have done to save herself. Young and inexperienced as she was, had she fallen into good hands, she might have been trained to a career of happiness and honour; but surrounded by enemies, led away by an ardent temperament,* and married to a man whom she could not love and who extended no protection to her, she became the victim of the circumstances in which she was placed. Nothing can palliate her errors as a wife, but nothing need prevent us from sympathizing with her as a most ill-used and unfortunate woman.

Another fatal quarrel in the Electoral House, whose origin partook of a more public character, but whose result was to deprive Sophie for years of the society of her younger sons, yet remains to be mentioned. In accordance with the general law of descent in Germany, by which all the property of a deceased father is equally divided among the children, it was customary on the death of a Prince to partition his territories among the male descendants. The mischief that resulted from this custom was obvious: a power, which, while compact and wielded by a firm hand, might ensure a position of com-

but cannot have believed her innocent. Had he not been convinced of her guilt, how powerful an engine would she not have been in his hands in his quarrels with his father! And must not some trace of his belief have been discoverable in the numerous letters of Caroline of Anspach?

* An excellent picture of her by Gachard is in the possession of Baron von Grote in Hanover. One feels that such features and such an expression have something dangerous; but the "much castigation, exercise devout," which perhaps might not have been thrown away upon her, were not much at home in the Court of Hanover.

mand and influence, vanished away when divided and parcelled out among many possessors. In some German States the attempt had therefore been made to put the law of succession in the dominions upon a different footing from that which prevailed in ordinary cases; primogeniture, and with it of course appanage for the younger branches, had been successfully tried. Both Brandenburg and Saxony were already beginning to feel the value of a policy which substituted the undivided power of a single will, for the petty and often conflicting interests of a number of equal and jealous Regents. This consolidation enabled them to hold a new and startling language in the affairs of the Empire; and far-seeing politicians even might now discern the faint shadow of coming events, and augur that an Elector of Brandenburg, in full possession of all the weight of his House, might ere long exchange his electoral for a kingly title. Means which revolt the feelings of men, and deeply wound the interests of society, had already been tried with partial success: in an earlier generation, seven brothers, among whom the territories of Brunswick were to be divided, had agreed to cast lots, on whom the duty should fall of perpetuating the ducal race. He whom fortune designated should marry, and in the hands of his children the succession should again, by lapse of collateral heirs, be reunited; the other six should found no home or family, or if they had children, these should be such as the universal public law excludes from the name and inheritance of the father. In this manner had the Duchy descended to Ernest Augustus; but the expedient was not only an immoral, it was also an imperfect one. It depended at all times upon a compromise, and an agreement among heirs having equal rights, which

some, or all, might not be disposed to surrender. Ernest Augustus determined therefore to introduce into his own House the law of primogeniture, whose beneficial effects he witnessed in the Houses of his neighbours; but this plan was met by the unwavering opposition of his younger children, and especially his third son, Maximilian William, and his fifth son, Christian, who never could be brought to yield upon this favourite point of his domestic policy. The latter of these Princes apparently contented himself with a passive resistance, which, however it annoyed his father, was not at any rate pushed to a criminal excess: he had made up his mind to suffer for what he believed to be just, and consented to remain in poverty and an exile from his father's house rather than make any sacrifice of principle. The conduct of Maximilian cannot be judged so leniently; either actuated by motives of self-aggrandisement, which I should suspect to have been the case, or perhaps unwilling to relinquish what he considered a right unjustly attacked, he did undoubtedly enter into intrigues of a treasonable description. He maintained correspondences at Wolfenbüttel, Rome, Paris, and Vienna, which, to use even the gentlest terms, were contrary to the duty he owed the Elector as his son and subject; but, in spite of the mystery in which this part also of the Electoral history has been carefully shrouded, there can be no doubt that he lent himself to schemes of far deeper criminality. The counsels and remonstrances of his mother were addressed to him in vain: other advisers of a more congenial character, and less attached both to the father and the son, fanned the flame of disobedience, and hurried on the Prince to a ruin which we cannot deplore. A conspiracy to dethrone the Elector, and, to use the words of the

chief mover, Count von Moltke, make his elder brother George Louis *harmless*, was formed, and Maximilian was one of the conspirators. The plans however of these desperate men were betrayed: Moltke, after a fruitless attempt to escape, was executed on the rampart at Hanover, and the Prince, after a confinement of some duration, was expelled from his father's house, and closed his days in the Imperial service at Vienna. There seems indeed to have been but little praiseworthy in his conduct and character; much good is nowhere reported of him, and various letters in this collection tend to place his disposition and habits of life in a very unamiable light. In all these respects Christian appears to have been a perfect contrast to his elder brother; those who knew both the Princes all bear witness to the great difference between them, and the superiority of the younger. Leibnitz, always deeply interested in everything that tended to the honour or stability of the Electoral House, corresponded frequently from Vienna with the Electress on the subject of these sons; no one knew them better, or understood their characters more fully; and Leibnitz, in his letters meant for Sophie's eye alone, confirms every word which I have said respecting them. Writing to Sir Andrew Fountaine, September 4th, 1703, shortly after Christian's heroic death, he thus expresses himself: "He was a Prince of merit and virtue: I have scarcely ever met with a better heart. Unhappily, imbued with false impressions against the right of succession established in this country, he made it a point of honour to maintain pretensions from which the Electress gave herself great pains to wean him; but on this subject he appeared invincible, and preferred reducing himself to live upon the poorest footing to giving them up."

Fountaine himself had made Christian's acquaintance at Salzburg in 1702, and describes him as "a very sober, studious Prince, one of the valuablest men of quality in the Imperial Court, and the very reverse of his brother, the Prince Maximilian." And so Whitworth, writing of his death, says, "He is extremely lamented here, as one of the most hopeful Princes in all Germany."* And consequently he retained till his death the affection of his mother, in spite of all his opposition to her husband's will. As we have seen, this opposition condemned him almost to penury; he fell into debt and difficulties sometimes, and when he did his mother did her best to relieve him. On one occasion, 26th July, 1699, Leibnitz wrote to her from Vienna, where both the Princes were, to say, that a person who had been in Christian's service as private secretary assured him the Prince had fallen greatly in debt; that he nightly visited great assemblies of people, all of them indeed of good quality, but not well-intentioned, some of whom confirmed him in his opposition. "This sort of flattering counsels," he says, "are poison mixed up in sweetmeats." The Electress replies that she cannot believe the secretary ever to have possessed his master's confidence, or that her son should let himself be led astray so easily: "For a person of my son's excellent judgment, I am astonished that he should allow himself to be seduced by people who give poison instead of sweetmeats:" she adds, "This gives me great distress, as well as the determination to do nothing for Prince Maximilian, for that would bring them both to reason." However, as the Elector would make no sacrifices for his rebellious children, Sophie was

* Letter to Stepney, Vienna, 9th August, 1708. (Stepney Pap., viii., 77.)

obliged to assist them as well as she could with her own means. Of these Princes I have little more to say: Christian perished in attempting to save a man who had fallen into the Danube, in 1703, while retiring before the French and Bavarians after the battle of Minderkingen; Maximilian, after many lies and equivocations took counsel with his self-interest, and became a Roman Catholic; he served with credit in the Austrian armies,* in which he rose to the highest rank, and died an old man, unrespected, unregretted, and without a friend.

For her daughter Sophie Charlotte, to whom it is my intention to devote a separate chapter, the Electress entertained the warmest love, and found in her affection a resource for all the troubles and sorrows of her busy life. The death of this accomplished Princess in 1705 severed far too early an intercourse founded upon the noblest and purest principles of domestic charity.

If the gratification of ambition could compensate for want of home happiness, Sophie must have found consolation enough in the honours to which her family successively attained. By the death of her husband's elder brother, John Frederick, without male heirs, in 1680, Ernest Augustus had become reigning Duke of Hanover; but this did not satisfy the proud descendant of Henry the Lion,—there was a rank higher than the ducal, and this he determined to win. He yearned for a seat in that august College, which in theory at least made, and could unmake, emperors. The creation however of a *Ninth* Electorate was no easy thing to compass, and only by a rare combination of fortune and of skill was it ultimately brought to pass. Like almost every other Prince in Ger-

* He commanded Eugene's Horse at Blenheim, with the high rank of a 'Général de Cavalerie.' (Marlbor. Despat., i. 402.)

many, the Duke of Hanover had at one time been a pensioner of Louis XIV.; like the ministers of every other German Court, his ministers had been openly and undisguisedly in the pay of France. Perhaps there was not in all the empire a single Regent, except the Emperor himself, who did not at some time stand in this disgraceful relation to the Emperor's worst enemy. By thus purchasing the members of the body, one by one, Louis hoped, when the time should come, to succeed in rending the Empire limb from limb; and so skilfully had his intrigues been conducted, that when he at last threw off the mask, and the German Princes could no longer doubt that their own independence and even their nationality were at stake, few of them were in a condition to take the side which their interest as well as their honour imperatively called upon them to espouse. Between the French on the one hand, and the Turks on the other, the Empire was in a most precarious and dangerous position. It must be confessed that its very constitution was the best that could have been devised to secure at once the extremes of cumbrousness and weakness: its finances, ever scandalously mismanaged, were ever in a state of hopeless dilapidation; its military force, made up of the contingents of the various Estates, was never forthcoming when it was wanting, or in a serviceable state when forthcoming. The possession therefore of a well-filled exchequer, and a disciplined, even though it might be a small army, was an irresistible argument in the hand of any Prince who desired to extort anything from the Emperor: both of these Duke Ernest Augustus could command. The mines of the Hartz and the commerce of his great trading towns had made him one of the richest men in Europe; and when, by breaking

off all connection with France, he found himself master of his own troops, he stood at the head of a well-appointed and numerous army. He offered the Emperor both money and men, which were eagerly accepted; but he demanded in return that Hanover should be raised from a Duchy to an Electorate. The family of the Guelfs, he argued, was inferior to none in the antiquity and dignity of its blood, and the splendour of its alliances: Princes of this House had sat upon the Imperial throne itself; the moral and material influence of Hanover had often been, and would still be, exerted for the defence of the Empire and the service of the Emperor; and it was little if such a House should demand to be placed upon a footing of equality with others of less splendid origin and inferior wealth and power. The necessities of the Emperor pleaded strongly in favour of Ernest Augustus's claim; but the adverse interests, which also could not be neglected, were of no inconsiderable weight. Denmark, the tool of France, was instigated, and was ready to embroil all Germany, sooner than consent to the aggrandisement and elevation of a neighbour whom it always regarded with jealousy. The College of Princes exclaimed against the pretension of one of their own body to be raised above them; the College of Electors protested against the creation of a new Electorate, which would diminish the value of their dignity. They said: "The constitution of the Empire admits only of seven Electors; if at the Peace of Westphalia we consented to an eighth, it was because the Palatine had been deprived of his dignity, and it had been given to the Duke of Bavaria; we have agreed to restore the Palatine to all the honours of his House, and we cannot deprive the Elector of Bavaria of what has solemnly been guaranteed

to him. An eighth Electorate therefore was necessary; it was part of the price we paid for peace, a condition which was willingly submitted to, that a term might be put to the frightful war which for thirty years had brought ruin upon ruin to our towns and villages; but for the pretensions of the Duke of Hanover there is no justification and no excuse." The clerical Electors too particularly complained that by the admission of a Lutheran into the Electoral body the proper balance of Protestantism and Catholicism would be disturbed. But none clamoured so loudly, or intrigued so pertinaciously, as the Duke's own nearest relatives. The Princes of Wolfenbüttel were frantic at the idea of seeing the petty principality of Calemberg raised above their own rich and splendid inheritance. Even George of Zell was with great difficulty brought to consent to the preferment of his younger brother, and probably never would have consented, but for the marriage of his daughter to the future Elector. But by degrees all opposition was subdued, and in the year 1692 Otto von Grote, the great Hanoverian minister, had the satisfaction of receiving the investiture with the Electoral *barret*, on behalf of his master.* Ernest Augustus however was obliged to content himself with the barren title; the Electoral College refused to admit him into their body, and it was only when his son, having become King of England, was in a position to speak a language which no one could affect to misunderstand, that the Electoral power became truly joined to the name.

Great as this accession of dignity was, fortune had yet a more brilliant lot in store for Sophie. After the Revolution of 1688 had shattered for ever the throne of the

* December $\frac{9}{19}$.

Stuarts, in the event of no issue from William and Mary, or Queen Anne, the English Crown, which the family of James II. was declared to have forfeited, must needs be placed upon the head of one of the numerous agnates, all of whom derived their title from Mary Queen of Scots and her House. The pretensions of Sophie were by no means the nearest. A strict construction of the laws of descent would have given precedence to the claims of sixty or seventy competitors; and although the most of these, being Catholics, laboured under a disqualification, yet the accession to the throne of England was bait enough to furnish a motive for apostasy; and if some Protestant Princesses had become Catholics in order to secure advantageous marriages, it was not improbable that some Catholic Prince might incline to the doctrines of the Reformed Faith, if the Crown of England glittered invitingly at the far end of the labyrinth of theological discussion. For awhile the chance seemed likely to fall upon the House of Savoy:* at a later time the Duke himself told Schulenburg that overtures had been made to him from the English Parliament, and that our resident at Turin had been directed to enter into negotiations with him, to send his son into England, there to be brought up in the Protestant faith, and thus qualify himself for the succession to the throne. But the Duke of Savoy suffered himself to be cajoled

* The claims of the House of Savoy will appear from the following extract from the genealogical table of Queen Mary:—

James I.

Charles I. — Henriette Marie = Philip, D. of Orléans.

Elizabeth = Frederick, Elector Palatine.

Sophie, Electress of Hanover = Ernest Augustus.

George I.

Anne Marie = Victor Amadeus of Savoy.

Charles Emmanuel.

and overreached by Louis XIV.; his defection from the cause of the allies saved France, and compelled William of Orange to make the Peace of Ryswick, a disappointment which he never forgave or forgot, and which he punished by turning the succession upon Sophie, the Protestant descendant of James I. When therefore the last hope of a direct descent from the Princess Anne was extinguished, by the death of the Duke of Gloucester in 1700,* King William, in a speech to both Houses of Parliament, recommended the settlement of the Crown upon the Electress of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; and this, being duly and formally passed into an Act, which declared the Electress the "next in succession in the Protestant line," was carried by Lord Macclesfield to Hanover, and became the title upon which the Princes of the Serene House have, with God's blessing, been firmly established as Kings within these realms.†. The Duke of Savoy protested indeed formally at this time, and at a later period, against the exclusion of his claims; but reasons of State, not less than William's private wishes, caused his efforts to be without effect. In 1714, when the settlement itself was about to take effect, Schulenburg wrote thus to Leibnitz:‡ "I am told too that the Duke of Savoy has taken it into his head to protest against the Hanoverian succession in England, his own son being the next heir, if the Prince of Wales is to be excluded. I remember his often telling me that the Parliament had

* July 28th.

† I have little doubt that affection for Duke George of Zell *first* turned William's attention to the House of Hanover. This Duke was his confidant and friend before the invasion of England, which he aided with men and money, and with good advice.

‡ Emden, July 12th, 1714.

made overtures to him, of the favour they had for his line, and that nothing was wanting to success but to send his Prince to England and have him brought up in the Anglican religion. Mr. Hill also was concerned in some negotiations of the sort while I was at Turin."* Upon this passage Leibnitz has written the remark: "He has done so before, when King William caused the first Act for the Succession to be passed. The King was induced to do this, in order to revenge himself upon the Duke, who had deserted him a little before the Peace of Ryswick."

From this time the Electress, having become the heiress to the English throne, was more or less mixed up in all the intrigues which convulsed and embittered the reign of Queen Anne, and appears to have been nothing loath to play her part in them. George Louis indeed, who never seemed very anxious to obtain the contingent advantage, who liked Hanover better than England, and complained of the expense he was put to, to keep a part of the English nobility in good temper, did, as far as he decently could, leave all that concerned the succession to his mother.† On more than one occasion his lukewarmness caused a suspicion that he was greatly disposed to wash his hands of the whole matter, and leave the English to get out of their political difficulties as best they might. "I have always been of opinion," writes Leibnitz to Baron von Schultz, the Hanoverian resident in England,‡ "that our Court would be the

* Schulenburg was in the service of Savoy till 1702, and enjoyed good opportunities of knowing the objects of the Court of Turin.

† See Leibnitz's letter to the Raugravine, September 1st, 1712. George Louis's stinginess is often the subject of remark in the 'Hanover Papers,' Macpherson, vol. ii. *passim*. I have reason to know that the demands made upon him were exorbitant. ‡ April, 1714.

most *Iroquois* in the world, if it was to neglect its glory and advantage, and repay the affection of a great and flourishing nation with contempt. Such an idea could never enter the head of any man of sense who knows us; and yet in England there are several persons who have given themselves a good deal of pains to have it believed."* As long however as the Electress lived, she was the person to whom the discontented looked; and successively both Whig and Tory paid their court to her, intrigued to establish an interest with her, and even to mix her up in the opposition to Queen Anne's system of government. The attempts to bring over first herself,† and afterwards her grandson, to live in England, put discord between herself and that sovereign, and ended only with the death of both in 1714. A good many curious letters upon this subject will be found in the following pages, and may be considered supplementary to the interesting correspondence published by Macpherson. How angrily the Queen resented the Electress's interference appears from the well-known letters despatched to the Electoral family a few days only before Sophie's death.‡ It has been very commonly said, that the anger caused by these letters accelerated that event, but there is little reason in such a supposition. It is likely enough that they distressed her; but she had too much acquaintance with what is disagreeable in life, far too

* *Vide* Macpherson's 'Original Papers,' vol. ii. *passim*, for a corroboration of this assertion.

† Made by Rochester, Haversham, and the Tories, in 1707, and by the Whigs in 1712.

‡ The letters to the Electress and George Augustus were immediately printed, for factious purposes, by the Electress's advisers. That to the Elector was suppressed at the time, but is found in Macpherson, ii. 621. They all bear date May $\frac{12}{23}$, 1714.

much experience of the uneasiness that waits upon high station, to receive so severe a shock from so inadequate a cause. Her advanced period of life is surely sufficient to account for an event deferred even beyond the usual course of nature. No doubt the Queen's letters did greatly annoy the family, and, considering their threatening tone, it is not surprising that they should have done so; but warning enough had been given to the Electoral Court of Anne's indignation at their proceedings, and the expression of it, however strong, can hardly have been quite unexpected. I am in truth inclined to believe that it was much more keenly felt by the Electoral Prince and Princess than by either the Elector or his mother, who were fully aware how many leading politicians were in favour of, or had indeed warmly recommended, the course of policy they had pursued.* The Elector had in fact never listened favourably to the proposal; and many friends of the House of Hanover attributed his backwardness to jealousy of his son: and this may have had something to do with it, although I am quite as much inclined to attribute it to George Louis's low opinion of his son's talents, and confirmed distrust of his discretion. But he had not been satisfied with a passive course. He had even disavowed and recalled his envoy, Von Schutz, for taking active steps, recommended to him by some of the best Whig lawyers; so that, as far as the public

* The Stuart Papers call the plan a device of Churchill, Halifax, and Somers; December, 1713, Macph. ii. 460. See also in the same collection, Sunderland's letter, April 6th, 1713 (vol. ii. p. 481). Kreyenberg, April 14th, in the same year, represents Halifax, Townshend, Sunderland, Somers, Oxford, Cowper, and Lord Justice Parker as concurring (*ib.* ii. 489). Marlborough's letter, November 30th (*ib.* ii. 515). Prince Eugène himself was favourable to the plan.

was concerned, the whole responsibility appeared to rest upon the Electoral Prince, and neither upon his father nor grandmother. Caroline of Anspach, in a letter to Leibnitz, written the day before the Electress's death, describes her husband as in despair at Queen Anne's anger, and in the deepest anxiety about the opinion which the Court of Vienna, and especially Prince Eugène, might entertain of the matter. In this letter the Princess does not give the slightest hint of any indisposition of the Electress; and had there existed even the faintest suspicion that she had been unusually affected by the Queen's communication, her niece, the Raugravine Louise, would assuredly not have left Hanover for Frankfort, which she did only two days before her aunt's death. In fact, in one of her letters, she distinctly affirms that she left the Electress in perfect health, and that she was therefore doubly shocked at the news of her decease.

After the death of her husband in 1698, and of her beloved daughter Sophie Charlotte in 1705, the years of the Electress's life were principally spent in her retirement at Herrenhausen, among the flowers and nightingales of which she was so fond, and in the chosen circle of men of genius whom she drew around her. Her correspondence, like that of the other Princesses of her House, was most voluminous and various, and the number of those whom she honoured with her letters very considerable. Several of our own countrymen were particularly distinguished by her favour, and kept her *au courant* not only of the political but literary occurrences of interest. Gilbert Burnet wrote to, and received letters from her. The good acquaintance with the Hanoverian Court, which he often indicates rather than dis-

tinctly shows, in his 'History of his Own Times,' was clearly founded upon direct communications with the Electoral family. It was very likely the interest which he had in them that induced William III. to commit to him the charge of sounding the House of Lords upon the question of an eventual Hanoverian succession.* A distant relative of the Prelate, Thomas Burnet of Kemney, was also a constant and most voluminous newswriter to the Electress. His letters would of themselves fill a volume; they are written in equally bad French and English,† and in an almost illegible hand, but they contain an unexampled mass of literary gossip. In his long missives he details, *con amore*, the appearance of a new poem, or a volume of sermons, or a theological treatise; the retirement of an old favourite from the stage, the character of a celebrated clergyman, the scandal of a circle of wits; pouring out at times all the small-talk of a frequenter of fashionable coffee-houses, at others showing all the pedantry and zeal of a Scotch Professor of Divinity. His accounts are rarely valuable for the political, but full of materials, of a certain light character, for the literary history of the period. Mr. Burnet had travelled, and possessed a good amount of knowledge, gathered from books, and improved by experience at home and abroad. One very unpleasant experience he had indeed gone through, having on some frivolous pre-

* Own Times, ii. 15, 16.

† Burnet's French more than once caused mirth in the Electress's circle. In a letter to Leibnitz, describing Thomas Burnet's return to Hanover in 1704, she says she finds him much improved in everything but his French. While giving her an account of his journey from Paris to Hanover, he had told her that he had been three times *brought to bed* on the road: "Il nous a conté, qu'il a fait trois couches en chemin;" which made all the ladies laugh out, to the sad disturbance of the Electoral dignity.

tence been thrown into the Bastille in Paris, where he might have perished unheard of, but for an accident, which brought his situation to the knowledge of the Electress: by the interposition of the powerful advocacy which she interested in his behalf, he was restored to liberty; and to the close of her life continued to be one of the warmest and most constant of her admiring servants. A third Scotchman of some note, but doubtful character, also enjoyed for some time the notice of the Electress,—the well-known Ker of Kersland, whose Memoirs are familiar to the student of this period of history; but the questionable intrigues in which he engaged, and the bad character given him by the secret agents of the Hanoverian Court, soon put an end to his favour.* The Electress also wrote frequently to Lord Raby, afterwards Lord Strafford, the English Ambassador at Berlin, and one of the Plenipotentaries at Utrecht; to Lord Rivers, and to the Honourable G. Stepney, our Envoy at Dresden and Vienna, who both as a poet and negotiator was favourably looked upon by his contemporaries, but is now deservedly little thought of in the first capacity. A more questionable correspondent was the celebrated Toland; he seems to have imagined that the Court of Hanover would be a favourable field for the spread of his infidel doctrines, and appears to have been a frequent visitor there. Several letters in this collection have reference to this gentleman's pretensions and intrigues. It is not unlikely that the Electress was amused by him for a time, and gave him a patient hearing; but

* Ridpath writes to Bothmer, January 27th, 1714, that "Ker, or Ferguson, is a very dangerous person and a spy, . . . and one of the worst of men, though he pretends to be a Presbyterian. He is sent over by the Lord Treasurer, and that those who are with him come upon some ill design as well as himself."—Macph. ii. 549, 553.

whatever influence he may have hoped to establish over her mind, or on whatever reports he may have founded those hopes, he was soon convinced of his error. With his superficial character he was indeed no person to succeed in producing any effect upon Sophie, a woman of sound practical sense, well trained in metaphysical discussion, and surrounded by men as capable of at once exposing the most ingenious sophistry, as of chastising the most elaborate historical inaccuracy. How could infidelity hope to rear its forehead unabashed, when confronted by the ardent piety of Mauro, and shattered by the merciless logic and profound scorn of Leibnitz?

Yet some grounds I think there may have been for Toland's speculation on the Court of Hanover; and to me it is not improbable that, among other ridiculous calumnies, the enemies of the Electress had represented her as a person very indifferent, to say the least, in matters of belief. In those angry times of highflying Churchmanship and Non-resistance, which resisted to the death, it is likely enough that a Calvinist Princess, and a friend of Burnet, may have fallen under such a charge as this, even if she were not absolutely accused of favouring infidelity. Her own easy, good-humoured tolerance, and the pleasure she took in hearing all sides of theological controversy, may easily have given rise to a suspicion that she was not disinclined to what was then called Freethinking. Accordingly Collins sent her a copy of his celebrated 'Discourse,' on the fly-leaf of which stands the following autograph dedication:—"To Her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, this 'Discourse of Freethinking,' in testimony of the Author's sincere devotion (common to him with all English Freethinkers) to Her Royal Highness's

person and family, as heirs by law to the Crown of Great Britain, and more particularly of his high esteem for those noble endowments of mind, so rare in Princes, so peculiar for many ages to the glorious House of Hanover, and so conspicuous in Her Royal Highness, is most humbly presented by Her Royal Highness's most obedient servant, Anthony Collins." But any expectation which Collins may have entertained of finding an apt disciple in the Electress was at once and decisively dissipated. Sophie took the earliest opportunity to express her dissatisfaction with and dislike to this work, and requested Lord Strafford to inform Queen Anne, from herself, that it was a matter of supreme surprise in Hanover, "that books of such a dangerous character should be allowed to be printed in England, especially," as she added, with a sly quip at the Queen's High Church friends, "at a time of such strict orthodoxy, that even Presbyterian meetings were forbidden under severe penalties." Mr. Toland therefore, though complimented upon his zeal for the interests of the Serene House, was gradually let down, and his intimacy civilly but firmly declined: it was even thought right to warn other Courts against believing him to be in any respect a trusted friend of the family.

The truth is, that the Electress, without making any parade of her religious sentiments, conformed to all the decent ceremonies of religion, and was probably as much influenced by its precepts as most people of the world are. She did not obtrude it upon others, but there is no reason on that account to accuse her of being indifferent to it. It seems to me, on the contrary, that there is sufficient cause to think that she was more than usually steady in her convictions. Although among a peo-

ple and family of Lutherans, she remained true to the principles of the Calvinistic, or, as it is called in Germany, Reformed Church, in which she had been brought up. When the Lutheran clergy pressed her to communicate with them in their form, she declined it, that she might avoid giving scandal to those of her own persuasion.* She nevertheless accompanied the Elector to his Lutheran Church; nor does the variety of creed appear to have caused any discomfort in their family relations. I think then that any indifference in matters of religion would have easily led her to comply with the wishes of her Lutheran chaplains, who represented the opinions of the great majority of her subjects; and it appears totally inconsistent with the distress which she on more than one occasion expresses at the idea of her son Maximilian's becoming a Roman Catholic. She was perfectly aware that if he took this step it would be merely to further his own worldly interests, and not from conviction; and had she been herself irreligious, she must have cared very little on what grounds he apostatized, or whether he apostatized at all. I have dwelt the longer on this subject, because joking expressions, made perhaps at the time with a particular object, now no longer understood, and reported long after they were used by such gossiping writers as Pöllnitz and Gourville, may have given rise to doubts which seem to me unnecessary: Feder, the Electress's latest biographer, has reduced them to their proper insignificance.†

And thus in various alternations of joy and sorrow the years went by, and each succeeding one appeared to bring her nearer to the splendid gift which a great

* Burnet, Own Times, ii. 698.

† Sophie, etc., pp. 75–84, also pp. 97, 98.

nation destined for her. The Queen of England, though many years younger than herself, was known to be smitten with incurable disease; and more than once had breathless messengers disturbed the peace of Herrenhausen with tidings that the fatal hour approached, and that the next courier might bring the news of her succession to a rich and powerful, but disputed throne. Yet the great honour of mounting it was not reserved for her. On the 8th of June, 1714, in the eighty-fourth year of her age, while walking in the gardens of Herrenhausen with her beloved Caroline of Anspach, she suddenly fell back into the arms of that Princess, and expired without a pang.* On the 1st of August, and in her fiftieth year, Anne followed her to the tomb. Undisturbed in her last moments by pain or anxiety, the elected Queen of England passed from the splendours of her earthly Court into the presence of the Judge to whom the account of all her long and active life was to be rendered. The poor lost in her a benefactor; talent mourned in her a protectress and a friend; her family circle deplored in her the spirit that had been the life, and caused the happiness, of a long, unbroken intercourse, whose charm was now gone by. If her pure spirit could need consolation, it would have found it in the tears of genuine love which so many faithful friends and servants shed over her grave.

* "Quæ uti vitam semper piam sine superstitione, semper sanam sine medico, degit, ita quoque finivit; mortem non sensit; vivam ad superos divam transiisse dixeris."—From her Epitaph. Von Ilten however says, "De la manière qu'elle avoit toujours souhaitée, sans médecin ni prêtre:" and I can well believe that the painful scenes which disturbed the dying moments of her daughter, the Queen of Prussia, might have made her form such a wish.

5.] The Electress Sophia to Leibnitz.

Herrenhausen, $\frac{6}{16}$ Sept., 1688.

Comme votre prophétie a été plus intelligible que celle d'Apollon, je la dois estimer davantage, et je crois qu'on vous peut considérer comme un mage, qui venez porter votre encens par les belles lettres que vous avez écrites à ma fille* et à moi sur la naissance du petit Prince Electoral.† Je la lui enverrai par cette ordinaire, et je ne doute point qu'elle lui sera fort agréable. Depuis mon retour j'ai répondu à M^r^ l'Évêque de Neustatt. Je crois qu'il ne manquera pas de vous montrer ma lettre. Si j'avois cru qu'il montreroit mon billet à l'Empereur, j'aurois tâché de le rendre plus agréable. On dit que M^r^ le Prince d'Orange passera bientôt la mer avec une flotte formidable pour se rendre protecteur de la religion réformée en Angleterre. La France menace la Hollande d'entrer avec $\frac{m}{50}$ hommes dans ses états, si elle souffre que le Prince d'Orange passe la mer avec une armée. Les Ducs de Celle et de Wolfenbutel envoyent $\frac{m}{4}$ hommes aux Hollandois, M^r^ l'Électeur de Brandenbourg leur en fournit $\frac{m}{8}$, M^r^ le Landgrave y envoie du monde aussi. Pour Hanovre, il attend, comme Jupiter en Lucien, la fumée de quelque sacrifice, avec les bras croisés, jusqu'à ce qu'il lui conviendra de prendre une autre figure; car il ne laisse pas de faire quelques levées pour empêcher la surprise. Cela n'empêche pas qu'on ne fasse un grand bâtiment de votre bibliothèque pour jouer cet hiver l'opéra. C'est Signore Hortense qui compose la pièce de Henri le Lion. Je crois qu'on a pris ce sujet, afin que la postérité n'oublie point tous les états qui ont étés autrefois à cette maison. Mon fils le P. Charles m'avoit mandé aussi que M^r^ son frère avoit été commandé avec un détachement de 4 régiments pour aller joindre le P. Louis de Bade. C'est un signe qu'on ne le juge pas incapable de commander.

* Sophie Charlotte, Electress of Brandenburg, and afterwards Queen of Prussia.

† Frederick William, afterwards King of Prussia, born Aug. $\frac{4}{14}$, 1688.

J'aurai du plaisir de vous voir de retour ici, et de vous assurer moi-même de l'estime que je fais de vos mérites.

SOPHIE.

6.] THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA TO LEIBNITZ.

$\frac{24\ Jan.}{3\ Fév.}$, 1690.

Vous donnez un tour si agréable et obligeant aux bons souhaits que vous me faites à cette nouvelle année, que je les préfère pour cela à ceux que j'ai reçus des Rois et des Princes. Le destin en réglera l'événement; c'est en cela que ceux des plus grands monarques et les vôtres seront égaux pour moi. Je souhaite par des effets réels vous témoigner ma reconnoissance, et vous faire voir l'estime que je fais de vôtre amitié. Si vous aviez pu donner pour étrennes Mr le Duc de Modène à une de nos princesses, vous auriez fort réjoui cette maison.* Mr le Duc a autrefois employé le Comte Dragoni en cette affaire, qui a fort mal réussi; dont je ne suis pas étonnée, ayant trouvé dans une lettre de feu mon frère l'Électeur, qu'il croyoit que le derrière avoit une grande liaison avec la glandule dont Mr Descartes parle; et le Comte se trouvant beaucoup incommodé de cette partie, il n'est pas étrange qu'il ait si mal negocié. La vôtre étant mieux disposée pourroit être plus heureuse, ce que je souhaite beaucoup, et de vous revoir en bonne santé ce printemps pour me tenir compagnie pendant que Mr le Duc sera à l'armée.

SOPHIE.

P.S. Votre bibliothèque s'est convertie en théâtre, où l'on représente les plus belles opéras du monde. Sgr Hortense en fait les vers, et Sgr Steffani,† qui a été à Mr l'Électeur de

* Just about this time, Leibnitz was giving, not a Duchess of Modena, but an Empress of Germany, to "cette maison."

† Agostino Steffani, a composer of some merit, afterwards Bishop of Spiga. He was Maître de Chapelle at Hanover, where he had the honour of introducing Händel to George I., and was succeeded by him

Bavière, la musique. Vous voyez par là que les François n'ont pas encore brûlé nos états. L'Évêque de Thina* m'a écrit, et veut revenir ici à la charge pour la réconciliation.

7.] EXTRACTS OF A LETTER FROM JOHNSTONE.

Berlin, June $\frac{1}{2}\frac{7}{7}$ (1690).

The letter begins with a discourse which past between the Elector and Mr. Johnston concerning the Count de Roy, who dyed at the Bath, and so there can be no use of it now.

Dankelman hath been with Schoning, alone, who desires to be restored. Prince of Anhalt sollicites for him, but his credit is weak.

The Emperor is to send 4000 men to the Duke of Savoy; the troops of Zell and Wolfenbuttel will in all appearance supply their place.

The Elector is to be at Wesel on the 29th. I go all this night.

I have had an account of the pretensions of the Duke of Saxe Gotha to Saxe Lawenbourg; some things in it are founded on the particular customs of their countreys, which I do not understand, otherwise I should think his right unquestionable. Hitherto he hath made no noise of it, because he did not imagine the Elector of Saxony would move in it without him, but now will publish his right. It is evident by his right, that the Elector of Saxony has none, for the successions were reserved to the Gotha family when the Electorate was taken from him; and if the family of Anhalt ever had any right, they have lost it by their negligence, the Princes of Anhalt having been present without entering any protestation or claime, when two brothers of Saxe Gotha were

from 1710–1712, when Händel went to England. Ernest Augustus and George I. had used Steffani's services on various public and diplomatic missions. Pope Innocent XI. made him Bishop of Spiga.

* The celebrated Spinola, titular Bishop of Thina in Croatia.

invested, in the expectance of that succession, in an Assembly of the Empire. If this claim of Saxe Gotha prove good, it may put an end to the dispute. I am persuaded the Duke of Zell, as soon as he is persuaded that he has no right, will yield it, and much rather to the Duke of Saxe Gotha than to the Prince of Anhalt. And this family here will be satisfied provided the family of Luneburg have it not.

8.] ROBETHON TO LEIBNITZ.

Gemblour, July $\frac{26}{16}$ [1690].

Sir,

I have received the letter with which you have honoured me, and I wrote off directly to the Hague to M. de Viquefort, as the Sieur van der Heck has been here for some days. M. de Viquefort has answered me that he had found the book just as I had seen it at Moektien's, and that he had even kept it back so that he should not sell it to anybody else. M. van der Heck will be back at the Hague in two or three days, but as I shall not see him before his departure from this place, the best thing will be for you to have the goodness to write to him what I have told you about the said book, that he may buy it for you: I will also write for him to do so. I think that you already know that the peace with the Turk is looked upon as settled. The envoy of the King writes to him from Adrianople, that the Grand Vizier had told him that if he had full powers, it should be made in four-and-twenty hours, upon which the envoy despatched his secretary to Vienna to ask for them. The Turks will accept whatever conditions the Emperor chooses to impose upon them, so we expect to see forty thousand Imperials on the Rhine for the next campaign. The raising the siege of Coni rejoices all honest folks here. The French have lost three thousand men before the place. One part of the succours is already in the Milanese. The Duke of Mantua has accepted the neutrality with Spain, and sickness ravages the French army. On the other hand, M. de

Saxe has crossed the Rhine, and M. de Lorges, who proposed to send cavalry to M. de Boufflers, will want reinforcements himself. Denmark has made up its quarrels with Holland and England, and Sweden is on the point of doing the same. They write from Ireland that the army of the King has taken by storm that part of Athlone which is on this side the Shannon, and has already breached the castle which is on the other side. They even go so far as to publish that St. Ruth is taking steps to give up Ireland, and to take with him to France the best soldiers that are left: he has for this purpose kept vessels at Limerick. The two fleets are in sight, and they hope to have their turn at sea; after which—and Ireland reduced—the King can have here more than thirty thousand English, and then it will be well to be on good terms with him. Since the French have failed in their design on Liége and Brussels they have had recourse to other practices, having attempted to set Bruges and Brussels on fire by means of incendiaries, but all has been discovered, and there are more than thirty of them in prison. Here is plenty of good news for you; I do not doubt that you will appreciate them. I am, with much attachment, Sir, etc. etc.,

J. ROBETHON.

P.S. We are still encamped here, and M. de Luxemburg has left his camp at Sognie to come to Etinnes. He is come today from Etinnes to Bussières, on the other side the Sambre, in order to be in a position to succour Dinant, which they expect will be besieged.

9.] MOLESWORTH TO DE FALAISEAU.

Copenhagen, Feb. 21st, O.S., 1691.

Sir,

Quid scribam, aut quomodo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam, hoc tempore, dii me deæque pejus perdant quam perire quotidie sentio, si scio. You will be astonished, no doubt, that I take the beginning of my letter from one of the great

Tiberius to the Senate, but may the devil take me if I ever found a paragraph fitter to commence the letter which I am about to write to you. If you do not go immediately to the King, and let him know exactly what sort of people we have to deal with, he will have the greatest reason in the world to think Mr. Amerong* and myself downright madmen, and in fact they have almost made us so. But not to keep you any longer in suspense (as you have done us about your secret), learn that affairs are turning at present to our advantage. MM. de Guld: and Kn:† have been harder at work than usual since my last letter. The King has begun to like their reasons, and gave orders that a conference should be allowed us yesterday morning on the subject of the ratification of the treaty of defence which M. d'Amerongen received the other day. We found spirits somewhat milder, in spite of the inclination of some of those people, and they took occasion of the insertion of the seventh article, which, as they say, they find different from what they expected, to tell us that the treaty shall be ratified here, that is to say, that the King of Denmark will annex to it a limited term. As for me, I gave them to understand, that, if they were not fully free, or had made any treaty with Sweden for the protection of their trade with France, they could not ratify this treaty, for that the two were incompatible. On this point they assured us they as yet had concluded nothing with Sweden. If I am to believe them, they have been the greatest fools and blackguards in the world; for to what end should they send us so abruptly last Saturday the project of a treaty in which there was an article for Sweden, and that in such positive terms, and without choosing to give us any conference, to make any remonstrance about it; but in a high tone, "take this project," and if your master does not ratify and return it within a fortnight, we shall take other measures! In truth this is a stupidity and

* Envoy of the States-General at Copenhagen. †Sept. 29th, 1691.

† Guldenlieu and Knut; the former, King Christian's natural brother, and President of the Council; the latter, the King's chamberlain and favourite.

impertinence beyond all bounds. After having said nothing to us by word of mouth about this article at a conference held only the day before, and after having afterwards pressed it upon us in such a manner, in spite of our repeated requests for a conference, which was refused, what could we report to our masters but what we did report? and that is what I told them plainly today. "Gentlemen, if it is true that you are not yet engaged, you have given us so much reason to think so, that we have sent an express to our masters to inform them of it. If you are at present of other minds, do not think it strange if I tell you, that by this way of acting of yours, you have put back your affairs for more than a month, and perhaps for ever."

Sir, I am so full that I find it impossible at present to make you know what I feel, in a language which is not my own; but after all I do not know upon what we are to rely. The King is for us: he has been so annoyed during this whole week that we have not appeared at Court, that he has been ill of it. The Ministers are not, and never will be, for us. M. La Sablière will tell you how Jessen* talked to him about you. You will see by that that the Lorrendrajerie sits so close about their hearts that they connot get rid of it, and besides that they are such beggars that they cannot set eight ships of war afloat. They will push their master to any extremity, even to a rupture which will assuredly be his ruin, rather than lose their interests in the ships which the Zealanders have taken.

After all, they have not told us yet that this treaty about the future trade with France can be concluded without this article in favour of Sweden; but they say it is only a compliment for the Swedes. I have answered, that I never saw compliments of this kind in the body of a treaty, or conceived in such terms. I believe they are ashamed, or that they have received some news from Hamburg which they do not like; for as, during the Council of Trent, the Holy Ghost used to come every week by post in a portmanteau from Rome, so their oracles do from Hamburg. Adieu!

* Danish Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

P. S.—M. de N. will do me all the harm he can: prevent him. The boom is open, but the winds and ice prevent the fleet from sailing. I have communicated this letter to M. d'Amerong. The beginning pleased him so much, that he has said the same words to M. Peslers.

This letter is not signed, but neither the handwriting nor the contents allow us to entertain the slightest doubt as to its author.

10.] MOLESWORTH TO DE FALAISEAU.

Copenhagen, March $\frac{14}{24}$, 169$\frac{9}{1}$.

Sir,

I have received yours of the $\frac{7}{17}$, and have despatched that for Mademoiselle la Chaussese. If your departure only depends upon the settlement of our affairs here, you may return tomorrow, for everything is in a hopeless state. The Treaty is concluded, and Rieske took his departure yesterday with greater honours than if he had been a sovereign Prince. The King gave an entertainment to him at Yagersburg, and led off the toasts himself, which turned upon nothing but the continuance of this strict union. He makes him a present of a team of seven horses, and two saddle-horses, the best in all his stud; M. Guldenlieu also makes him a present of some horses. The two Kings are enrolling sailors with all their might at Hamburg, and they have caused the twenty-one Dutch ships to enter that port. I fear for the city of Hamburg if the support of Lüneburg should fail, for without doubt Ehrenschild has been carrying on intrigues enough there among the magistrates in conjunction with Helsfeldt. M. de Godeus has left this place to return thither. Set fire to your mine, if it has not taken wind already. If they would only have believed me and M. Amerong, they would have engaged all these sailors beforehand; but I am sick of giving advice, which is never followed. I have not received

any letters from M. de Nott for two or three posts, and it seems to me that he is busy somewhere else, though for my part I thought the affairs of Denmark of some consequence; I suppose I am mistaken. You also have been most thoroughly duped by these people, and I shall see you come back here with a nose a foot long. They have never done talking ill of you, and say, among other things, that you had spoken so ill of the Danes, calling them poltroons and blackguards, that Mr. Haxthuisen was on the point of laying hands on you. I could not believe this lie, although they have spread it through the whole Court, because I happened to have received a letter from you by the same post, in which you praised Haxthuisen above all the rest of the Danish ministers; but I think they see very well that they have done you great wrong, in charging you with commissions and instructions which they never had the least intention of carrying into effect, and that they are obliged to run you down at this moment in order to get the start of you. You do not inform me whether the King has read my first letter, in which I justify myself to him, nor what he says to it, and I wait for his last orders. M. d'Amerong has not been to Court for three weeks, and perhaps will not return there except to take his audience of leave. I aspire after nothing else myself, for there cannot be a greater annoyance to a minister than to do his duty and give good advice, and after all to be convinced that he is not listened to, but neglected; and that his fidelity and vigilance, instead of being reputed a merit, are looked upon as a crime. Adieu, Sir! I am, etc. etc.,

R. MOLESWORTH.

P.S.—I tell you once for all, positively, that there is no good to be expected here; that their resolution is taken and excused; that they will force us into a good-for-nothing peace, or else will go to war with us if we do not give them all they ask, namely, an unshackled commerce and plenty besides.

11.] W. DUNCOMBE TO JOHNSTON.

Stockholm, September 2nd, 1691.

Sir,

I omitted answering yours of the $\frac{15}{25}$ past, the last post, because I had very little to say but to thank you for it. This post affords some matter, but I think 't is only of wonder, how people can affect to speake and act that they may not be understood: in things of smaler moment, ridiculous; of greater, offensive; not to speake of our inconstancy, an effeminacy one would think below the virtue of the Goths and Vandalls. In short, thus, wee are obliged by treaty, and profess ourselves religious observours of it, to furnish the Emperour with 3000 men; but because they arrive not till the time of winter-quarters be ready, wee convince the whole world that they are rather guests to eate of the abundance of the Empire than soldiers to fight for its safety. Wee complaine of the Dutch and their violation of leagues, and lament that thereby wee are præcluded from the assistance wee would, by inclination, but cannot in honnour, afford them; yet will wee not to this moment accept of that satisfaction ourselves require, tho' it is not only offer'd but press'd upon them, both by Von Haran and myselfe. Wee have been very careful to have it believ'd that wee may not enter into any warr in our present circumstances; yet have wee given countenance to a tierce party in Germany, which, if it speaks anything, declares a warr wherein we are principalls, and that to our ruine it may be. Wee have by all meanes endeavoured and twice propos'd a peace among the partys engag'd, yet that peace is to our disadvantage; in truth, howbeit our reason was that by the warr our commerce was ruined. Wee enter'd into a league with Hannover only to secure him for wishing a peace; tho' no body is believed so mad as to attack him upon that score; to help him to be troublesom, but to keep him quiet; to make him terrible, but to expose his weakness. Wee offer'd a peace and persued it as Christians; now wee'l offer our mediation no more (and yet Christians still, till a fit opportunity I sup-

pose, that the charecter may be compleate; for we must exhort in season and out of season): in fine, we wish France very low, but must take care of it, that it bee not pressd too furr; for therein is our interest, for which wee must venture over all, and must bee always provided; and therefore I suppose the tierce party in its first intention was sett up; and since our Treaty with itt subsists till the end of this warr, its continuance has no other end then to save France if need require; till which need it will sleep, as I fancy. In the meane time wee give very good words, which I can as little understand now as ever, or it may be, as you understand this letter, or your most faithfull humble servant,

W. DUNCOMBE.

This King returned last night.

12.] DANCKELMANN TO DE FALAISEAU.

Berlin, March $\frac{16}{26}$, 1692.

Sir,

You will not receive any answer by this post to your relation of the $\frac{23 \text{ Feb.}}{4 \text{ March}}$, which will only come by the next. However, it is well that you should know as soon as possible what the intentions of his E. H. are with regard to Saxe-Lüneburg, the Electorate, the right of primogeniture, and the Colonelcy of the Circle. As to the first, his E. H. will never consent to any usurpers remaining in possession, and especially the present ones; and all the alarm which the Court of D[enmark] entertains on this subject is groundless. We shall labour in England and everywhere else to prevent it; and the anxiety we feel for a thorough reconciliation between Denmark and Saxony turns only upon this point, in order to prevent them from treating for any sort of equivalent for H[anover], which will be feasible if we do not separate their interests from the common cause. As for the Electorate and the Primogeniture we shall prevent them by all means in our power; and as for the post of Colonel of the Circle we should be very

glad to have it ourselves. This is all that I have to tell you *in antecessu*, and you will receive, by my next, instructions on this subject as positive as the scruples of Denmark can require.

The affair with the Margrave Philip, as well as his two brothers, who are here just now on the subject of the will of his late E. H., is entirely settled through the interference of the Duke of Zeitz. They relinquish their claims under their father's will, and his E. H. has settled appanages upon them; Prince Philip, as *secundogenitus*, to have twice as much as the others. The whole went off very well, and our ill-wishers are very much annoyed to see this stone of offence in the Electoral House got rid of for the present, that the successors may draw it into a precedent to the notable advantage of the Electoral House. I will answer the articles of your letters which require answer, in my next; and am, in the meantime, etc. etc.,

E[BERHARD] DANQUELMANN.

ELIZABETH CHARLOTTE, DUCHESS OF ORLÉANS.

This lady, whose voluminous correspondence supplies the clearest and most trustworthy view of Louis XIV.'s domestic life, and of the every-day occurrences in his Court and family, was the daughter of Karl Ludwig, Elector Palatine, the second son and successor of the ill-starred Frederick, King of Bohemia, and Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I. She was consequently niece to the Electress Sophie of Brunswick, and half-sister to the Raugraves of the Palatinate, of whom mention will be made at the proper place. Her mother was Charlotte, daughter of Anne of Hesse Cassel, a celebrated heroine of the Thirty Years' War. She was born in 1652, and being early deprived of a mother's care through the se-

paration of her parents, seems to have received a somewhat irregular education, whose fruits displayed themselves in after-life in certain harmless eccentricities, to the astonishment and amusement of the Court of France. But even from this circumstance she may have also derived the independence of thought and action which strongly characterized her, and the self-reliance which enabled her to maintain her position in a society where she was looked upon with no friendly eyes. At least, to the freedom of these early years may we attribute the masculine habits which sometimes exposed her to the ridicule of coxcombs and shocked the fastidious taste of fine ladies, equally incapable of appreciating her sterling merits. It was nevertheless, perhaps, well for her, that she was early removed from the rude companionship of her father's Court, where she might have easily degenerated into a coarse, if not a worthless, woman. Thrown upon her own resources, and trained by the sweet uses of adversity, she went her way,—a weary one indeed and full of thorns, but she trode it with the dignity of virtue and the undeviating devotion to principle. That for which woman's heart is framed, the happiness of a wife and mother, was denied her: nor in the sphere in which her lot was cast could she find friends to soothe and share her sorrows. Yet she remained steadfast unto the end: pure among the vicious, true though surrounded by a world of falsehood, simple and natural where all was artificial, cheerful and resigned, whatever dangers threatened the objects of her love, and whatever enmities disquieted her daily dealings with the world. In 1671, at the early age of nineteen, the Princess was sacrificed to the political interests of her House: to secure the powerful support, or turn aside the terrible hostility of

Louis XIV., she was given in marriage to his younger brother Philippe, Duke of Orléans, a man whom she did not love, and whom it would have been difficult for any woman to respect. She had not even the poor consolation of believing herself loved, and knew from the first that she was offered up merely in the hope of securing peace for the Palatinate, ever threatened by its restless and gigantic neighbour. "I then am to be made the political lamb, to be sacrificed for my country!" was her exclamation when the announcement of her marriage was made to her.* Nor was it allowed her to take refuge in the thought that the sacrifice was effectual: much more was she made acutely to feel that her own marriage was used as a pretext for the destruction of those whom she had suffered to save. On the death of her brother Karl, in 1685, without male issue, Louis laid claim in her name to the dominions of her House; and then ensued the frightful devastations, the burnings and massacres, by which Turenne converted the paradise of the Rhine-valleys into a desert. She lived to see the Castle of Heidelberg, in which she was born, reduced to the ruin which it now remains. To the last moment of her life she never ceased to deplore the merciless conduct of Louis, and the wrongs of the poor Palatines whom she dearly loved, and who were so cruelly treated in her name. By her marriage with Monsieur she became the mother of two children, Philippe, Duke of Orléans, afterwards Regent during the minority of Louis XV., and a daughter named Elizabeth Charlotte after herself, who, through her marriage with Leopold, the then reigning Duke of Lorraine, is the ancestress of the Imperial fa-

* Chevreana, i. 186; Reiger, 183 in Wund, Gesch. Karl Ludwigs, p. 196; Moser, Hist. Archiv, v. 477.

mily of Austria. Under the title of Madame, the Duchess continued to reside in France till her death, in 1722, leading a most unhappy, but, according to all trustworthy accounts, a blameless life, in the midst of a Court sunk to the lowest depths of moral corruption: incessantly exposed during the closing years of Louis XIV.'s life to the unconcealed hatred and intrigues of Madame de Maintenon, and the faction of the King's illegitimate children; and, during the Regency of her son, continually alarmed for the safety of a life, endangered hardly more by the practices of unscrupulous enemies than by the effects of interminable debauchery. Her thoroughly German character, and some ungraceful peculiarities of dress and manners, her unbending maintenance of her rank, and the contempt she openly expressed for Maintenon ("Die alte Zott," as she always calls her), armed the French Court against her. Richelieu, the bitter adversary of the Regent and his party, has left an amusing sketch of her, which, strange to say, is strictly consonant with the truth, as we learn it from her own letters.* "Elle avoit conservé toutes les bienséances, toute l'étiquette de l'ancienne Cour; elle en aimoit le faste, les plaisirs et la représentation; elle ayoit conservé aussi tout ce qu'il y avoit autrefois de brusque et de sauvage dans les mœurs de sa jeunesse et de son pays natal, étant encore toute Allemande dans ses principes et dans ses propos. Elle étoit franche, sans finesse, sans détours, sans pruderie, et toujours l'ennemie déclarée de Madame de Maintenon, qu'elle n'appeloit jamais que *la vieille truie, la sorcière, la bigote, la veuve Scarron*. . . . Madame portoit des perruques d'homme; elle avoit une meute de chiens, montoit à cheval; et les plus indomp-

* Mém. de Richelieu, ii. 63.

tables, elle les domptoit; elle alloit à la chasse, manioit l'épée, le fusil, et toutes sortes d'armes, et savoit courre le cerf. . . . Elle se nourrissoit comme les paysans; elle avoit une santé de fer; si bien qu'à l'âge de soixante ans, elle n'avoit jamais été malade."* In spite of all this, and especially of her dislike to the Duc de Maine and Madame de Maintenon, Louis XIV. appreciated and respected her,—perhaps had as much affection for her as he was capable of feeling for anything but himself. Richelieu says indeed that Maintenon had destroyed the King's amicable feelings for his sister-in-law, and there can be no doubt that she had done her best to put enmity between them; but this assertion is contradicted by numerous passages in her letters, and particularly by her account of the scene at Louis's deathbed. In a letter to her half-sister, the Raugravine Louise (August 27, 1715), she says: "He bade me farewell with such tender words, that I am astonished at not having fainted away. He assured me that he had always loved me, and more than I myself had imagined; that it had always much grieved him when at any time he had caused me chagrin. He begged me to think of him sometimes, which he believed I should do, as he was persuaded that I had always loved him; he hoped that I might spend my life in happiness, and be blessed in my death." Louis told her also in that solemn moment that pains enough had been taken to make him dislike her, but that they had never produced an alteration in his feeling toward her.

Her husband was a weak and profligate Prince, who neither understood nor cared for her till almost at the time when death put an end to their union, after thirty

* There is a picture of Madame on horseback, surrounded with her dogs, and carrying one or two fowling-pieces.

years of freezing commerce. His character may be gathered from many allusions in Madame's correspondence: he seems to have been a man of little sense and no passion, without natural refinement or acquired instruction, and, like his far more gifted son, "fanfaron de crimes qu'il ne commettoit pas." In a letter to another of her confidential correspondents, Caroline of Anspach, Princess of Wales, 18th of October, 1718, Madame says: "Monsieur was so bored by my love for him, and my wish to be in his company, as to beg me, for God's sake, to love him less; for it worried him really too much."* On the 13th of June, 1719, she writes to the same Princess: "I loved him, although he made me suffer much; but in the three last years everything was changed." And on the 10th of November, 1716, she says: "Before, I had suffered terribly; I was on the way to be right happy, when the Lord took my husband from me. Thirty years did I labour to win my husband, and just as I had gained my end he died."† From jealousy at least she had not to suffer; she repeatedly declares that she does not believe Monsieur was ever in love with a woman in his life; but that he affected inconstancy, partly to please his brother, and partly because he was ashamed of being out of the fashion of conjugal infidelity.

Unhappily there was little consolation for her in the conduct of her children and grandchildren. The Regent, it is true, always treated her with affection and respect, and when she scolded him, which I suspect from her letters was pretty frequently the case, bore it patiently, and did not mend his ways. She writes once: "I never yet had a quarrel with my son, though he was very angry

* Anecd. v. Franz. Hofe, p. 275. † *Ibid.*, pp. 272, 273.

with me twenty-four years ago, when he married against my will; but as I love him I have forgotten it. I do not believe that we can ever henceforward be on bad terms. If I have anything to say against his conduct, I tell him my mind roundly, and there's an end of it; but he lives with me on terms of great respect."* But his reckless profligacy disgusted as much as it alarmed her; and she cannot conceal from her chosen friends the agony with which she sees him squandering his health and his really eminent talents in a course of life which could only end in the destruction both of body and soul. Her daughter, the Duchess of Lorraine, whom she describes as "a person of such firm principles, that she has no fear of her being corrupted by any company she may keep,"† was removed from her society by a marriage which, however splendid to outward appearance, was an ill-assorted and unhappy one. Isolated from her family, the poor Duchess was compelled to purchase domestic peace, and even civil treatment, from her weak and capricious but vicious husband, by conniving at his infidelities, and submitting to the indignity of being ruled by one of his mercenary favourites. This woman, a Madame de Craon, the Duke had had the indecency to place about the person of his wife as Mistress of the household: he had previously bought her of her husband with the place of a minister of State; and in these two positions the strumpet and the pander had made themselves absolute masters of the Court and the country. The sufferings of the Duchess, who loved her unworthy husband, and whose affection was so ill-

* To the P. of Wales, 29th May, 1716, Anecd., p. 155.

† Letter to the Raugravine Louise, March 10th, 1718 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 279).

requited, as well as the insolence of his intriguing favourites, are often the subject of angry comment in Madame's letters.* On the other hand, the extravagant libertinism of her granddaughters is the theme of all contemporary authorities, and this caused an estrangement from them, which is often alluded to in her correspondence. Saint-Simon gives the following description of the Duchess de Berri:—"Cette Princesse était grande, belle, bien faite, avec toutefois assez peu de grâce, et quelque chose dans les yeux qui faisait craindre ce qu'elle était. Elle n'avait pas moins que père et mère le don de la parole, d'une facilité qui coulait de source, comme en eux, pour dire tout ce qu'elle voulait et comme elle le voulait dire, avec une netteté, une précision, une justesse, un choix de termes et une singularité de tour, qui surprenaient toujours. Timide d'un côté en bagatelles, hardie d'un autre jusqu'à effrayer, haute jusqu'à la folie, basse aussi jusqu'à la dernière indécence, il se peut dire, qu'à l'avarice près, elle était un modèle de tous les vices, qui était d'autant plus dangereux qu'on ne pouvait pas avoir plus d'art ni plus d'esprit."† The stories which Saint-Simon tells of the Duchess are certainly such as to astonish and disgust; nor, after reading them, it is at all matter of surprise that Madame should have written so often in such bitter terms of her granddaughter's conduct. On occasion of her death, in 1719, Madame wrote to the Raugravine: "Had I sure opportunity, I could tell you more about her; but, although the misfortune is known to all the world, it is not matter for my pen. I can only say that I am much con-

* See her Correspondence with the Raugravine, Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 377, 496, etc.

† Mém., vol. xxiii. p. 39.

soled for my granddaughter's death by all I have heard of her since she died."* It cannot be denied that the Duchess de Berri was a very guilty woman; but it may be suspected that her grandmother, full of German prejudices, and inexorable on the subject of *mésalliance*, would have forgiven everything but her secret and disparaging marriage with the Comte de Riom.

But if Madame was denied the comfort and support derived from the society of an affectionate and happy family, she had still one consolation of a higher character, which in all her trials and sorrows never deserted her. She was a woman of sincere piety and sound religious principle: not very solicitous perhaps about the mere accessories of form, but faithfully submissive to the providence of God, and deeply imbued with a sense of duty towards Him. She was as little led astray by the real infidelity which pervaded the society, as by the sham devotion and hypocrisy which were the only road to favour, at the Court in which she lived. She entertained a very clear idea of her relation to God and to her fellow men, detested theological squabbles, and abhorred persecution. Educated in the dogma of the Protestants, she had been obliged to make a profession of Catholicism as an indispensable preliminary to her marriage with a Catholic Prince. Chevreau, with much self-complacency, takes credit to himself for this conversion, which he declares to have been so perfect, that a reverend Father of the Society of Jesus, who was expressly commissioned to prove and secure it, found nothing either to add or amend. But I doubt very much the accuracy of Chevreau's assertion, and am disposed to think that the Duchess was a very good Christian, but a very indifferent

* August 31st, 1719 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 418).

sectarian of any denomination. She evidently attributed but little importance to the mere ceremonial observances of any religion. At the age of nineteen, and in the hands of able, ingenious, and practised instructors, she was easily persuaded to a step of which several of her relatives had already set the example: her uncle Edward had become a Roman Catholic, and taken service in France, where his daughter married a Prince of the House of Condé; her aunt, Louise Hollandine, died Abbess of Maubuisson: she was therefore doing nothing but what had already been done by other members of her House. She probably considered such a sacrifice to outward form as of little moment to one who was already offering up every hope of a woman's happiness for the advantage of her country, who looked upon herself as the lamb that was to be laid upon the altar to save her family and fulfil the commands of her father. In after-life we find that she attended with the prescribed regularity upon all the ceremonies and services which the Court etiquette of Louis XIV. declared indispensable, and that she only revenged herself by invariably going to sleep during the sermon. But we find her reading her Bible every day in secret, recalling when in sorrow and weariness of life the Lutheran hymns of her youth, unmasking the knavery of unworthy priests, protesting against all the abominations committed in the name of the "True Faith," and interceding to the utmost of her power for the Protestants who suffered for adherence to their religion. To her influence over her son we must attribute the release of the Huguenot galley-slaves, which took place during his Regency. The following extracts from her letters to Caroline of Anspach, and the Raugravines Louise and Amalie, on the subject of her reli-

gious belief, will be read with interest. They are the private and secret confessions of a woman full of sound sense and genuine piety, who held firm to that which is essential in religion, and was content to go her own road without insisting upon its being travelled by others, or claiming for it the pretension of being the only one which could lead to salvation.

"When I first came into France I was made to hold conferences with three bishops on the subject of religion. They all three had different opinions about it; but I extracted a quintessence out of the three together, and formed my own faith out of it."*

"I generally get up at nine; . . . then say my prayers, after which I read three chapters in the Bible, one from the Old Testament, one Psalm, and one from the New Testament. . . . At twelve I go to church; . . . but if I were to hear a sermon in French, I should, after my old habit, be asleep during the whole of it."†

"I have not been at all forbidden to read the Bible; I have Bibles everywhere: Merian's is here at Marly, I have the Lüneburg copy at Versailles, and at Fontainebleau the Bible in two volumes. Whenever I go away from a place I note down on a piece of paper at what chapter and psalm I am, so that I can always go on at once."‡

"Do you really believe, dear Amelia, that I do not read the Bible any more because I am here? I read three chapters every morning. You must not imagine that the French Catholics are so absurd as the German; it is quite another affair, just as if it was a different religion. Every

* Princess of Wales, July 26, 1718 (Anecd., p. 228).
† Raugrav. L., September 20, 1714 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 185, 186).
‡ Raugrav. L., November 11, 1714 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 194).

one who pleases reads the Holy Scriptures; one is not obliged to believe in trifles and ridiculous miracles; no one believes the Pope infallible, or adores him; no one cares for pilgrimages and a hundred other such matters, wherein the people here are very different from the German as well as from the Italian and Spanish Catholics."*

"I am naturally no coquette, as all the world can witness for me; but I comprehend what human weakness is, and compassionate women who fall into misfortune more than I condemn them. Preachers say from the pulpit what they *must* say, not always what they think, or what they know. I admit that the things of this world are of no great value; but the eternal and heavenly things are hard to comprehend, and I hold it for the pure grace of God, when He enlightens us to understand them, and grants us the blessing of attaining them. I believe that it is our duty to pray earnestly to Him for this grace, but then not to trouble oneself much about what others do. Every one in this world has his own particular plague; wherefore is known to God alone, who has ordained and appointed unto each his time and season. Into His hands I give up all."†

"Are you really so simple as to imagine that the Catholics have no right foundation for their Christianity? Believe me, dear Amelise, the foundation of the Christian is the same in all Christian religions; the differences are merely priests' squabbles, with which honest folks have nothing to do. Our business is to live well and christianly, to practise charity and virtue: our preachers would do well to busy themselves with impressing this upon people, and not with groping about into all sorts of

* Raugrav. A., November 4, 1701 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 60).

† Raugrav. A., March 30, 1704 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 82).

points, and how these are to be understood. But this would diminish the authority of these gentry; and therefore they bestow all their attention on the last, to the neglect of that which is most important and needful."*

"If we consider God in His Godhead, man cannot honour Him, being too weak and inconsiderable in comparison to be able to do Him honour; but speaking humanly, we cannot help attributing human virtues to Him. Thus we may say that everything, whether good or evil, tends to the honour of God; for when He punishes the guilty who sin against Him we have a revelation of His justice, while all that is good comes from Him, and is a proof of His goodness. Thus nothing happens but to the honour of God."†

Speaking of the sudden and lamentable death of Sophie Charlotte, the beautiful Queen of Prussia, she writes to her sister Amelia: "It is true, dear Amelia, that this makes us moralize much; and your reflections remind me of the Lutheran Hymn for the Dead, which I so often sang in Hanover,"‡ and which she goes on to quote.

"I never miss reading my Bible: yesterday I read the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth Psalms, the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters of St. Matthew, and the third and fourth chapters of St. John; for I was obliged to read for 'to-day and tomorrow' at once, as we went to hunt this morning, and I should not have been able to read. . . . I cannot approve of the maltreatment of the Protestants here, but one sees plainly enough that it is nothing but a question of politics."§

* Raugrav. A., April 29, 1704 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 82).
† Raugrav. A., January 28, 1705 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 86).
‡ Raugrav. A., March 5, 1705 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 87).
§ Raugrav. A., April 18, 1705 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 88).

"I was never scolded for going to sleep at church, and thus the habit has grown so strong upon me that I cannot break myself of it. When the sermon is in the morning I do not fall asleep, but if in the afternoon I cannot help it. I even go to sleep at the play, and constantly at the opera. I really believe the Devil thinks very little about my going to sleep at church, or not; for sleeping is a thing indifferent, and no sin, but merely a human weakness. We see few preachers who have the art to command our passions: if they are strong, they are our masters,—if they are weak, we are the masters; but the preachers have nothing to do with the matter. They are men as we are, and have enough to do to look after themselves. If you will preach, I promise not to go to sleep during your sermon: and as you are a cheerful Christian, I hope you would hang the road to heaven with fiddles."*

"Believe me, dear Louise, the most confidence is not to be placed in those who talk most of devotion, for devotion is a dangerous cloak; I see it daily here. I admit that it would be better if people always spoke with respect of Christianity, but those who quiz are not the worst: the worst are the shammers and hypocrites. The worst is done under this pretext: they never forgive, they are implacable enemies, and, on pretence of correcting their neighbour, they publish every scandal, and hold everything for true. True devotion, as I believe, consists in love of God and charity."†

"Dear Amelise, you are very devout not to go out on Sundays; but I look upon a visit as more dangerous than a play, for in visits it is difficult not to talk about

* Raugrav. A., June 18, 1705 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 90, 91).

† Raugrav. L., November 29, 1705 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 95).

one's neighbour, which is a greater sin than looking on at a theatre. I should not approve of a person neglecting church to go to the theatre on a Sunday; but when one has done one's duty to God, I find, as I said before, a play less dangerous for the conscience than a conversation."*

"I have kept my word to you, and in all secrecy solicited for the poor people at the hulks; I have also got a promise, but do not say a word about it to any one, dear Louise; I only hope the 'Council of Conscience' will not spoil my pains."†

These passages, which, if necessary, might be made much more numerous, give a sufficient idea of this lady's piety and good sense; and of a charity, sorely tried among the enmities, hypocrisies, and profligacies of a Court which, under the mask of religion, connived at every form of sensuality, and compounded for the practice of every vice, by the apotheosis of Jesuitism and the trampling out of every spark of religious freedom.

Next to the chase, which she pursued with passion, Madame's principal occupation and amusement was her correspondence with the various ladies of her family, a collection truly portentous in amount. A letter of twenty or thirty pages,—the Duchess wrote a large and masculine hand,—was not too much at once, and to some one of her confidants she despatched such a missive by nearly every post. She had no other way of continuing to live with those from whom the accidents of life had separated her, to meet no more on this side the grave. These letters, replete with the most characteristic reflections and anecdotes of the Courts in which she lived, or with which

* Raugrav. A., April 11, 1706 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 100).
† Raugrav. L., October 8, 1715 (Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 227).

she maintained intimate relations, would have filled, according to her own estimate, ten folio volumes.* A large proportion of them are still preserved in various places, and extracts from them have from time to time been published. It is much to be regretted that all have not been made accessible to the public; for there is nothing else which gives half so clear a view of Louis XIV.'s Court and family, or is so valuable as a test of the accuracy of such writers as Saint-Simon, Richelieu, Villars, etc. etc. Even the letters of Madame de Maintenon or Madame de Sévigné are, in my opinion, of very inferior interest and importance; inasmuch as Madame's correspondence is not confined to the French Court, but introduces us to much which we should otherwise not have known, of what was going on in Germany. It may not be without interest to give some slight account of these collections of letters, published and unpublished.

First in the rank of Madame's correspondents was the Electress Sophia, her aunt, whom she never names but in terms of the most affectionate attachment, and who, to her intimates and equals, goes only by the title of 'Ma Tante.' We know that she wrote to this Princess by nearly every post; that she opened her heart to her on occasions the most deeply interesting to the honour and welfare of her own family; that a constant communication was carried on, on either side, of all that could amuse or be of service; that this intercourse continued unbroken till the death of the Electress in 1714, and that, unhappily, some of the correspondence was destroyed by Madame's express desire after that event; on the other hand, that there is no evidence of much having perished in that manner. All the more surprising is it, that a

* Mém. de Richelieu, ii. 64.

great obscurity hangs over this correspondence. Menzel, one of the latest who have written on this subject, says, in 1843, "The Princess mentions over and over again that she has written in the course of the week more than one long letter to Ma Tante, that is, her beloved aunt, the Electress Sophia. This correspondence most likely began in the year 1671, when she came to France, and ended only with the death of the Electress in 1714: and it is not to be doubted that it exceeded all the rest —not excepting the now published letters to the Raugravine—in historical interest. If any complete copy of these letters is known to exist, it would be a great service to publish them."* A portion of them is deposited in the Royal Archives in Hanover. But the very fact that the most secret affairs and interests were freely discussed in them is, I fear, reason enough to make us despair of ever seeing them. It is to be lamented that this should be so; for at this distance of time, it cannot very much signify what tales we read of political or social occurrences whose influence has long ceased to exist, or what we learn of persons whose very names are forgotten; while on the other hand these letters would furnish invaluable information respecting many points which yet remain unexplained in the history of the seventeenth century, and would certainly afford us most amusing glimpses of the then condition of civilization. Nor is it necessary that any secrets of the Serene House should be disclosed: we would gladly accept extracts of general interest, and acquiesce in the decision, that matters of a private nature should still remain unpublished. Whether the *whole* correspondence with 'Ma Tante' remains in Hanover I have no means of ascertaining; but Menzel's question,

* Bibl. Stuttg. vi. pref. ix.

whether any part of it came to England, must, I believe, be answered in the negative. The only person here at all likely to care about Madame's letters was Caroline, Princess of Wales: on the other hand, the Raugravine Louise, a niece of the Electress and the Mistress of her Household, who was on the spot, who had been the trusted confidant of her aunt, and remained the person to whom, after her aunt's death, Madame most unreservedly opened her heart, seems most likely to have retained possession of any that were not destroyed. What became of them after the death of the Raugravine? Some, I doubt not, found their way into the Royal Archives; if any others went into the family of Degenfeldt-Schaumburg, Menzel would probably have seen them, as he did those of the Raugravine: if, on the contrary, they came with the other niece into the House of Holdernesse, in England, it is possible that the German hand in which they are written may have caused them to remain unnoticed and unused. Those to which I have had access in Hanover, being found in other repositories than the Archives, are neither very numerous nor very interesting in a political or historical point of view. They contain a great deal of delightful gossip, which must at the time have been extremely pleasant both to write and read; but the world can now care little for the escapades of unknown grooms of the chamber, or flirting maids of honour, the all-absorbing sicknesses of babies and children, the ailments of elderly ladies and the success of the remedies employed,—even for the expressions of love and confidence, so fraught with happiness for those that receive them, so tasteless and wearisome for strangers of another generation. On this account, although I have thought fit to give one or

two specimens of this correspondence, I have omitted by far the largest part of the letters from which I quote; in fact I have mentioned very little—and not nearly all of that—but what refers to the members of the Royal families of England; for the dispossessed one of which, in spite of their love for, and near relationship to, the Electress, neither Madame nor her aunt, the Abbess of Maubuisson, ever ceased to entertain and to express the warmest sympathy.

With the Princess Caroline of Wales, a born Margravine of Anspach, and afterwards Queen of England, Madame also kept up a lively correspondence. The original letters, which were found among the papers of the Duchess Elizabeth Sophie Marie, widow of Duke Augustus William of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, at her death in 1767, are or were at Wolfenbüttel. It is much to be regretted that these have not been made more generally accessible. Portions of them, almost exclusively relative to the French Court, have appeared in different shapes, and can only cause us to regret that any part of them should have been withheld. According to Menzel, they were first published, in a French translation, at the close of the eighteenth century (before 1789), and again in 1807, under the title, 'Mélanges Historiques, Anecdotiques et Critiques, sur la fin du règne de Louis XIV., par Madame la Princesse Élisabeth-Charlotte de Bavière,' 8vo, Paris. These 'Mélanges' I have not seen; but I am induced to believe that they must give a very imperfect impression of the correspondence, inasmuch as their mutilation, to suit the views of the French, as well as their being translated into the French language, were found to render them a very insufficient representation of the originals, and orders were given in a high quarter to publish from

the letters themselves whatever should be thought proper to be divulged. A privy-councillor of the Court of Wolfenbüttel, Von Praun, was entrusted with this duty, and made extracts from the letters, which were arranged under various heads. His book was published in 1789, under the title, 'Anecdoten vom Französischen Hofe, vorzüglich aus den Zeiten Ludwigs des XIV. und des Duc-Regent, aus Briefen der Madame d'Orléans, Charlotte Elisabeth, Herzog Philipp I. von Orléans Wittwe, welchen noch ein Versuch über die Masque de Fer beigefügt ist' (8vo, Strasburg, 1789). It is to be regretted that the *naïve* language of the original letters should have been replaced by the ordinary German of our day; and still more, that the book strictly answers to its title, and contains only unconnected anecdotes of the Court of France. A French translation of it also appeared at Strasburg. I learn from Menzel that Schiller has also given extracts from this correspondence in the twenty-fourth and twenty-eighth volumes of his historical memoirs. I cannot but express my great regret that a new and complete edition of Madame's letters to the Princess, projected by the enterprising publisher, Mr. Viehweg of Brunswick, has not been permitted to appear; or refrain from lamenting that any circumstances should be allowed to do this great wrong to the republic of letters, in withholding from us historical documents of great value, and depriving the memory of an admirable woman of the honour justly her due.

We learn from her own letters that Madame continued a very active interchange of correspondence with her married daughter, the Duchess of Lorraine. The fate of these letters is unknown; we have not been able to ascertain whether they perished in the fire which, in the

year 1719, nearly destroyed the ducal residence at Lunéville, or whether they were transferred to Vienna when the Duchess's son Francis married the Empress Maria Theresa, and was elected Emperor of Germany.

We are also uninformed as to the letters which passed between Madame and her two step-daughters, Monsieur's children by his first wife, Queen Marie Louise of Spain, wife of Charles II., and the Duchess Anne Marie, wife of Victor Amadeus of Sardinia. Nor can we discover what has become of those which she wrote to Charlotte Felicitas, wife of Duke Renald I. of Modena, a Princess of the House of Brunswick. We know however that these communications were very numerous.

To her old governess, Madame von Harling, and her husband, Madame also wrote. Extracts of these letters were published in 1791, under the title, 'Bekenntnisse der Prinzessin Elisabeth Charlotte, aus ihren original Briefen' (Danzig); and from these, in connection with the 'Anecdoten' which I have mentioned, Professor Schütz, of Halle, published also extracts, in a work entitled 'Leben und Charakter von Elisabeth Charlotte, Herzogin von Orléans' (Leipzig, 1820).

Madame's letters to Leibnitz, which have fallen into my hands in Hanover, are neither very numerous nor very interesting; I have not found anything in them of sufficient general interest to warrant their transcription. Those which she addressed to her old and faithful friend, the Abbé de Polier, would probably be more valuable, as records of her spiritual experiences and the trials imposed upon her by the circumstances of her life. This simple and venerable ecclesiastic possessed Madame's confidence in a high degree, and is often spoken of by her in terms of great respect and affection. To the Rau-

gravine she writes, December 22nd, 1708: "I hope Ma Tante, our dear Electress, will follow M. Polier's example; he will be eighty-nine years old next January, walks upright without a stick, sees without spectacles, has still his teeth, and his understanding as sound as ever, only that he is more God-fearing than ever, and neither speaks nor writes of anything but what tends to the fear of God. I rejoice when I see such an example, and hope Ma Tante will carry it on as long." So again, October 26th, 1709: "In January, good, honest M. Polier will be ninety years old. His understanding is as good and right as when he was but forty; he has a good memory, reads without spectacles, only his legs are become a little stiff, and his face is paler than it used to be, otherwise there is no change in him. I hold him for a very saint: he lives in a constant fear of God, does all the good that lies in his power, is at peace and cheerful withal, has not the least fear of death, and gives himself up entirely to the will of God. I shall be right grieved when I come to lose him." On the 9th July, 1711, she mentions, with great feeling and expressions of affection, the death of this good old man, in his ninety-second year.*

The most extensive and interesting collection of Madame's letters yet printed are those addressed to her half-sisters, the Raugravines Amalie and Louise von Degenfeldt. This work was prepared by Wolfgang Menzel for the Historical Society of Stuttgard, the sixth volume of whose 'Bibliothek' it forms, under the title 'Briefe der Prinzessin Elisabeth Charlotte von Orléans, an die Raugräfin Louise, 1676–1722' (Stuttg. 1843). In this book extracts only are given from the letters, all merely trivial

* Bibl. Stuttg. vi. 134, 146, 161.

matters, compliments and the like, being very judiciously omitted, but everything retained which has any historical value. It is furnished with an index and an excellent introduction, to which I am much indebted. It is greatly to be regretted that a book so full of amusing and valuable matter, being printed for circulation only in a private club, should have become almost inaccessible to the public. I have only to add that, in the few extracts which I have given from the Princess's letters, I have retained the original spelling, but not the punctuation, the capricious abnormity of which sometimes renders the meaning, for a time at least, extremely obscure. In respect of these aids to intelligibility, the illustrious ladies of the Palatine House appear to have acted with singular independence of all established rules.

13.] MADAME TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA (EXTRACT).

Paris, May 11, 1692.

I can serve to give no consolation at all to the good Queen of England, for I shall see her Majesty very seldom, and St. Germains itself only when they have me fetched, as they told me lately, that is to say last Monday, that such is the custom when the Queen is brought to bed; so I shall probably not have much chance of seeing anything of the matter, for she says she is confined in such a hurry that she very often has not time to go from one room to another, not to reckon the little chance of my being there in time if I am to be fetched from St. Cloud or here; but whatever I hear about it, I will punctually report to your Highness. I cannot deny that I have a great esteem for King William, and that I cannot help taking his part here, for which I suspect I get no great thanks; however, I cannot correct myself of my frankness, and must always speak out the truth and what I think. It

pleased me very much to hear from your Highness that this King has a trifle of a good opinion of me; he has got no old sow about him to gore me. I am sorry from my heart for our good King James: I wish it could be so arranged that all might be satisfied, and a good peace made, but of this there is as yet little probability. If the Prince of Orange remains in Flanders, and our King of England goes with the fleet to London, there will not be much chance of their meeting; and our King alone carries on the war in Flanders, as I am told. All the ladies are to remain at Quenoy, and not to accompany the army to the field. Hitherto Heaven, or, to speak more strictly, the wind, fights on the Prince of Orange's side, for King James has not been able to embark. We shall soon see what is to be the upshot of all this, etc. etc.

ELIZABETH CHARLOTTE.

14.] MAXIMILIAN WILLIAM, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK, TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

Braunhausen, le 12 *de Juin*, 1692.

Madame,

Devan pen des jours le Conte Bernardo partit d'ici avec l'Abbé Mauro pour Muster. Je ne sai qui lui a obligé d'ecrire que les propositions du dit Cont soit ici si publique; car outre qui ne m'a pas fait auquune, i ne me souvien pas qu'on aye jammais disputé avec lui de Lutteranisme; et si ce nest pas moi mesme qu'il sait ce quil a voulu, je ne croi que personne le peut savoir. Estan ici il ne ma rien dit si non que j'allasse a Rome et me fasse Catolique et que le Pape apres feroit quelque chose pour moi. Mais cela est commencer les choses a traver, et finir par la ou il falut commencer. Pour me faire Catolique cela est bientost fait, et je ni serois pas trop difficile, mais il faut aparavan savoir pourquoi et par quelle raison, si j'en profiteres beaucoup et si cela sera des mes interes. Si chaquun vive de sa foi, je croi qu'un pauvre Luterien vaut tant qu'un Catolique. Sur ce sujet il ma pas fait auquune proposition, V. A. pourtan me fera la justice de croire que je me

suis jammais moqué ni parlé a personne sur ce chapitre. Le Conte a commence dire la Messe dan ma Chambre en presence de quelques uns, cela peut estre qu'il aye donné quelques soubsons. Ce que V. A. me marque au sujet de l'eveshé d'Osnabruck seroit fort bon et pour moi bien profitable; a cet regard je ne ferois auquune difficulté de me faire Catolique, mais pour l'eclesiastique je ne jammais eu d'inclination, et le seul nom de Prettre m'a toujour esté odieux. Je demeure toute ma vie, Madame,

Vostre tres humble et tres obeissan serviteur,

MAXIMILIEN GUILLEAUME.

De Winkler, the writer of the following and other letters, was a private correspondent of Danckelmann, and supplied him with secret information from Stockholm. He resided however in no public capacity, as appears from the following passage in a letter of Mr. Robinson, the British Envoy, to Stepney, dated December 26th, 1691:—"You will have received from hence several letters; . . . they come from one Mr. Winkler, that has been here several months, and, upon Mons. Falaiseau's recommendation, has been conversed with as one employ'd by your Court [Berlin]; and Mr. Duncombe has been assured by Mons. Falaiseau that he should by Mr. Johnson be satisfied in that point, and receive thro' his hands assurance that this gent[n] is indeed employ'd by his E. H., and that Mr. Duncombe's behaviour towards him is acceptable, with more to that purpose. But nothing of this being done in so long time, gives occasion to suspect that the party may be only an emissary of Mons. Falaiseau's, in which case it might be fit to observe other methods."* The letters

* Stepney Papers, vol. xviii. p. 147.

here published, some of which are in cipher, show that this suspicion was altogether unfounded.

15.] WINKLER TO DANCKELMANN.

[*Stockholm,*] 15 *June*, 1692.

They endeavour here to conceal what is passing in Livonia.* A Diet has been held, with the King's permission, at Wenden, a little town in that country, on the subject of the estates which the Court of Sweden claims to reannex to the Royal Domains,—estates not only alienated by its own predecessors, but even by Poland, and such as in old times belonged to the Grand Masters and the Teutonic Order, which will plunder the Livonian nobility of a great deal of property. Four of the principal gentlemen have represented there that this will be the total ruin of the nobles, and that the measure is totally contrary to the privileges and conditions on which Livonia submitted to Sweden; it is even whispered that the nobility are taking, in secret, measures for their own defence. However they will shortly send deputies here, to try the way of conciliation, before giving themselves up to an act of despair. The King of Sweden, being informed of these matters, has ordered the officers who are here to rejoin their regiments in Livonia; they will also exchange the Livonian officers who are in the troops in that province, to put Swedes in their places. It is suspected that the nobility have some secret support, from the high tone they take. Nothing is feared from the side of Muscovy and Poland, but much from the Elector of Brandenburg. They say that in old times the nobility was disposed to submit to Brandenburg, and would not be disinclined to do so even at the present day; but that they dare not trust our Court, on account of what took place in Rose's case in the time of his late E. H. But it seems that the Muscovites have some understanding with them; some people say that the Czar Peter is making a tour in the country

* Refer to the biographical sketch of John R. Patkul.

incognito; perhaps they think also of the Duke of Courland, who might find assistance. There are only eight thousand men in the province at the outside; but, in spite of all this, they do not seem inclined here to humour the province, and there are people here who push on the King to show that he is master there as well as in Sweden. The city of Riga has also been ill-treated for some time past: they have taken away from the magistracy the public estates of the city, the income of which amounted to twenty thousand crowns, and now they have taken from them the administration of the Common Exchange of the city, which used to be in the hands of the burgesses. Now they are attacking the privilege of their Consistory, which has been for five hundred years without appeal, although all the Kings, and even the last one, had specially confirmed it. They even claim to take from them the direction of this Consistory, and consequently the *jus episcopale;* after which they fear that the King will lay his hands upon the houses of the citizens, which in old times were the property of the churches, but which they have themselves rebuilt after two great fires. They have also established here an order of rank for Livonia; and in place of a Burgomaster of Riga not giving precedence to a Colonel, he is now put on the same footing with a Captain, according to seniority.

The writer of the following letter was a French gentleman, who in the reign of Christian V. removed to Denmark, and entered the service of the King as his private secretary. He afterwards became secretary of the Danish Legation in London. After his recall from England, he was employed in the diplomatic service of Denmark at Hamburg and the Hague. De la Fouleresse was an author, but an anonymous one. He published the refutation of Molesworth's 'Account of Denmark' under the title of 'Denmark Vindicated,' etc. by J. C. D.

London, 1694; and in French, 'Défense du Dannemark,' Cologne, 1696: also, 'An Account of the Difference between the Crown of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein,' Amsterdam, 1697. Finally, a pamphlet, entitled 'Lettre sur ce qui s'est passé dans l'affaire de l'empoisonnement arrivé à la Cour de Dannemark,' Cologne, 1699.

16.] De la Fouleresse to Blathwayt (?).

June 28th, 1692.

Sir,

As you have been informed of everything that passed here between my Lord Nottingham and myself since his Majesty's departure, on the subject of the affairs of the King my master, this letter is not to trouble you with them, nor to divert your attention from your important occupations, but only to express to you the grief I feel that his Britannic Majesty has found reason to be dissatisfied with my conduct in that respect. I could not have received any greater annoyance, and I deplore my misfortune in being [thought] unworthy of . . . . . done but by the orders of the King my master, who has been forced to it by the complaints of his subjects; and if to obey the orders of one's Sovereign is a crime, I am ready to confess that I am guilty; for in other respects I always have had, and shall have all my life, the respect and veneration which I ought for the great Prince who rules in these kingdoms, and shall endeavour to give proofs of it on all occasions. I shall also preserve a respectful and humble gratitude for the favours which I have received from his Majesty during the period that I had the honour of being engaged about his person; and it is impossible for anybody to be more deeply sensible of these advantages than myself, which, Sir, I thought it my duty to inform you before my departure from this Court, having no doubt that I shall be speedily recalled, since such is his Britannic Majesty's de-

sire. I feel myself obliged at the same time to acknowledge . . . received from you during my residence in London, and of all the marks of kindness with which you have often honoured me. I assure you, Sir, that you have not wasted your kindness on an ungrateful person; I know how to estimate gifts so valuable; I know also how to honour great merits, and I shall know better than all how to chant your praises at the Court of the King my master. How happy should I be, Sir, if I could one day prove to you with what heartfelt sincerity I would do you the most humble services; and if I should be so unfortunate as not to find an occasion, you can at least have in me a person entirely devoted to you, and who will be to all eternity, with all the consideration and all the zeal imaginable, etc. etc.,

[De la Fouleresse.]

17.] Madame to the Electress Sophia (Extract).

Paris, den 3 *Juilli*, 1692.

Mon^r de Balati wirdt E. L. ohne Zweiffel schon die vergangene Montags post berichtet haben wie dass die Königin in Engellandt von einer Princessin genehssen ist, undt dass Niemandes dabey war alss ihre damens, Mad^e de Monchevreuil, und die frau von Meyercroon, dess dänischen envoyés fraw; bin also dispensirt zeugen zu seyn. Gleich andern tags fuhr ich nach St. Germain, I. M. zu besuchen; ich fragte der Duc de Poille ob die Königin gar kranck gewessen war? der antwortete mir mitt einer naifetet die mich von hertzen lachen machte: O ouy, Madame, la Reine a estés bien malade, car j'ay entendus qu'elle crioit, Je suis fandue, je suis fendue! Der König hatte verbotten dass man der Königin nicht sagen solte, ob es ein printz oder princes seye, damitt dass sie keine esmotion bekommen mögte; alss sie aber nieder kommen war, undt die damens kammen dass kint zu sehen, schrien sie alle auff einmahl, Ah, que la princesse ressemble au Roy! da war alles woll verhehlt wie E. L. sehen, etc. etc.

Elisabeth Charlotte.

18.] WINKLER TO DANCKELMANN.

[*Stockholm,*] *May 7th*, 1622.

The Czar Peter is said to have been *incognito* in Livonia with his favourite La Force. Nothing was known about it till after his return to Muscovy; but others doubt whether this is possible, seeing that they make strict examination at the frontiers. Lieutenant-Colonel von Essen, who commands at Riga, told me of it, and even Major-General D'Aalberg is said to have the same news.

19.] WINKLER TO DANCKELMANN (EXTRACT).

August 10th, 1692.

Nevertheless the gentlemen are ruined by the reunion, for they make them pay the two-thirds; and, although they leave them what is called the tertial, the estimate laid on the two-thirds is so high that it quite absorbs this. They would like to submit themselves to the Duke of Courland, and through him to Poland. The letter of the Nobles is strong: "Auch unter Türken und Tartaren hätte man Bündnisse. Sie mussten verhungern und elend verschmachten." The nobility, after breaking up at Wenden, has left its deputies there, as it did before. These deputies have written the letter, but they have received no answer, and the King seems perfectly insensible to their distress. If there should be any scarcity, the people will die of hunger; and as for the gentry, seeing themselves not in a position to pay the King the farm [*der Arrende*] of the lands of which they were formerly themselves the owners, they have abandoned them and fled to Muscovy. The old masters spared the peasants, but the King's people do not; and I am told that more than three thousand peasant families have also left the country. Mr. Rumpf, the Dutch Resident here, has had a letter from the Resident of the United Provinces in Muscovy, that the Czar Peter had been in the country, and that he was building as many as thirty little ships, carrying

thirty cannon; that this passed for an amusement of his, but nevertheless people suspected that he had other views, and perhaps against the Tartars, for they meant to hold reviews also. They are fortifying Narva, which may perhaps be the first place attacked. The forces of Finland consist only of three regiments of infantry and two of cavalry. The favourite of the Czar, La Force, is said to be a man of talent, and one who understands war; and they say the Muscovite troops are full of German and French officers, and well drilled. There are some Custom-house stations on the frontier for the Muscovites and for trade. Sweden would lose extremely in losing Livonia, for it brings in a large income, is very fertile, and serves as a barrier. When Queen Christina had Pomerania, the royal revenues there were not sufficient, and Livonia made them up; but since the death of the Queen, Pomerania is able to support itself. A hundred thousand crowns is the sum which commonly remains to the King from the revenues of Livonia, without counting the estates which have been reannexed, or the Admiralty, which draws a good deal from Livonia, without the corn, hemp, etc. The Livonians would like to have the Duke of Courland, a Prince of their own religion, who would govern the Livonian nobles as he does those in Courland, and Riga would like to be put on the same footing as Danzig. They hope that the Elector may be induced to assist the Duke.

20.] EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. BLATHWAYT.

Grammen, Sept. 23rd, 1692.

Sir,

I have acquainted his Majesty with Monsr Falaiseau's and your endeavours to interrupt the irregular trade of the Danes. For Monsr Falaiseau, whose acquaintance I had formerly in England, I desire you to present my most humble service to him, and to assure him his Majesty does very much value his zeal for the common cause. But to come to the proposal that is made by the person you named to make these discoveries, I

am to inform you, that the like proposition has lately been made by Sir Paul Rycaut, in the terms you will find in the enclosed Extract; and as their Majesties have been pleased to approve thereof, you may likewise assure the person with you that his Majesty will make good to him the third part of the value of all discoveries he shall make, as soon as the ship or goods so discovered shall be brought to confiscation. This he may depend upon, as I have likewise signified to Sir P. Rycaut, his Majesty agreeing to his proposal, as you find it. I am, etc.,

WILLIAM BLATHWAIT.

This is a true Extract of Mr. Blathwait's letter to me, of the date above mention'd, as witness my hand this — day of September, S. V. 1692.

H. GREG.

21.] THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM TO GREG (EXTRACT).

Whitehall, September 27th, 1692.

Sir,

I have acquainted the Queen with the proposal of Abensur. Her Majesty thinks it fit that he be encouraged to do the service he offers, and, as a reward, is contented he should have a proportion of every ship that shall be taken, and be finally condemned as prize by the intelligence he shall give; and also of any others, to the condemnation whereof he shall furnish evidence. What that proportion shall be might be agreed with him, with whom you may adjust this matter upon the fairest and easiest terms you can; and her Majesty will allow you to go so far, if needful, as to promise him a third of every ship which shall by his timely information be intercepted and made prize; and of the others which shall otherwise be taken, and to whose condemnation he shall send such material proofs as shall be sufficient, a fifth part may be an ample recompense. I am, etc.,

NOTTINGHAM.

This is a true Copy of my Lord Nottingham's letter to me,

of the date above mentioned, and I do hereby acknowledge to have made an agreement with Abensur upon the terms therein expressed, as witness my hand, this 18th day of October, 1692.

H. Greg.

22.] Extract mentioned in Mr. Blathwayt's Letter.

I have by former letters advised you that there are, and will be during this summer season, ships always in this river lading contraband goods for France and Dunkirk, and that there can be no wayes to impede or disappoint such designs but by a strict watch of English and Dutch men-of-warre at the mouth of this river. But because it may be difficult when such vessels are taken, to make proofe that they are design'd for Spain or Portugal, or places in enmitie with the Allyes, upon complaints made to this Government hereof, they have order'd that all vessels lading within the dominions of Hamburgh contraband goods shall not be permitted to depart, untill the master or freighters have made affidavit that the same are intended for parts belonging to the Allyes, and not to France. But because very few ships of this sort lade at Hamburgh, in comparison of those which steal their goods aboard in the river without the limits and jurisdiction of this Government, I have imploy'd some setters to give me an account of all ships which lade this sort of commodities all along the stream; but this information not being to be had for nothing, nor fitting to give away the King's money without some answerable return, I have adventured to give my word, that such ships which shall be taken by our English men-of-warre and carried into England, and there condemned by the Court Admiraltie, the party so informing shall have one-third of the cargo of the ship, after all charges of condemnation, etc. shall be deducted; with which I hope his Majesty will be pleased, and accordingly give his commands to the Court of Admiralty. The which I more confidently presume to propose, by reason that the Lords. the States-General. have assented to the same

proposal, made by my secretary to them, for which he expects a placaert by the next post.

This is a true Extract from Sir Paul Rycaut's letter to Mr. Blathwait, dated at Hamburgh, Jul. 22, 1692, as I receiv'd it inclos'd in Mr. Blathwait's abovesaid letter to myself, as witness my hand, the 18th of October, in the year 1692.

H. Greg.

The following letter is almost entirely written in cipher, and there is no notice either by whom it was written, or to whom it was addressed; but the contents of it are interesting. All that can be said with certainty is, that it was written by a Prussian Resident in Stockholm to the minister of the Elector of Brandenburg, and probably Danckelmann: the writer himself signs sometimes with an R. But there is an entry in Leibnitz's hand, in the same fascicle which contains this letter in cipher, to the following effect:—"Winkl. à M. Dank. 1 Octob. 1692, sur les affaires de Livonie, et les esprits aigris des Livoniens, où il est fait mention de Patcul." All these entries are extracts, or contents of letters; many of the originals are lost, but from the extracts, which contain the pith of the letters, may be replaced. The correspondence of this anonymous letter with Leibnitz's description of the contents and date of Winkler's letter, seems to identify them. The italics represent the cipher of the original.

23.] Winkler to Danckelmann.

(*Copy of my Letter written to* 44, *the* 1*st of October*, 1692.)

It is now nearly two months that I have not said anything to your Excellency on the affairs of *Livonia*;* I then gave my-

* See the historical sketch of J. R. Patkul.

self the honour to write to you two very long letters on this subject, which as I hope you will have safely received. *It is in this one that* your Excellency *will find the continuation of this subject.* We hear nothing more here of the movements of the Muscovites on the Livonian frontier near Plesscow, and by the Riga letters it appears that all apprehension on that score is given up. I have also been assured that the Muscovite troops have in fact disbanded themselves, and that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Dorpat, who had fled with their movables, have for the most part returned to their houses. It is uncertain whether the Czar Peter, who is said to have been reviewing these troops, had formed any design against Livonia or not: we had at least reason to suspect it here, on account of what I have told your Excellency in my preceding letters. Perhaps, Sir, the design of this Prince has failed, *or has not been ripe for execution. The Livonians declare the latter, and say that the* Czar Peter *wishes to accustom them to* such movements of his troops, *in order to set the Swedes at rest,* and *surprise* the province *at some time when* they *least expect it. Moreover the* said Prince, *according to them, is anxious to make more friends in Livonia than he has already; to which* end *the discontent of the Livonians, which daily increases, may* greatly *contribute.* Time will discover the intentions of Muscovy. At all events, I thought it my duty to give your Excellency some information in my preceding letters upon this point, which I persuade myself *will not be altogether disagreeable to you. The* very *last thing that Sweden thinks of is to* stop *the reunion in Livonia, or to defer* in the slightest degree *to the entreaties* which *the nobility have addressed to the King* on this subject. I have spoken to your Excellency in my preceding, of *two letters, which have come to the King from* the *deputies of the said nobility assembled at the Diet of Wenden. These letters,* Sir, *instead of softening* the *spirit of the King,* have produced an *entirely contrary* effect: *far from yielding* to the *wishes of the nobility, this Monarch,* I am told, *intends to have the letters themselves examined,* and *inquiry* to be *made* into who *are the authors*

of them, and who the persons are *that have used such strong phrases here and there.* Nevertheless, as they cannot be ignorant *here* that the *wisest and most capable persons of all Livonia were chosen to be deputies,* that they it is who have *acted in the name of all the nobility,* and *that this body goes along with them* in what they have done: there *are great doubts of the Court following up the inquisition they talk of. It is thought* that they will rather *put a good face on the matter,* and *content* themselves with keeping *their forces in hand to ensure a free action for the reunion,* and *make it fall heaviest upon* those who are *most opposed to it. M. de Patkul, Captain in* the *King's troops at Riga, is said to be* one of the leading *deputies at Wenden,* and is one of those whom *the King suspects* of *having drawn* up *the letters in question.* If your Excellency will take the trouble to look at my letter *which you received by the hands of M. Falaiseau in January last, you will see that everything which the said Captain Patkul foretold of the Diet in Livonia* has *come to pass;* and this reflection may convince us that *his overtures, made* with respect to his *E. H. of Brandenburg,* of the *affection* which *the nobility of Livonia had for him,* are not *the words of a simple individual,* but that they *come from a man who* has *the means of knowing the inclinations of the nobility,* and has *authority among the gentlemen of the* said *Duchy. The King of Sweden,* Sir, *having received the aforesaid letters from Livonia, begins to be more and more suspicious of the nobility of that country,* and we remark at Court *that his Majesty looks with greater favour upon those of Esthonia,* which has suffered much, *and still suffers from the reunion, without making any open signs of resentment. Although they are not in any great alarm about Livonia,* having *seen through the* intentions *of the nobility;* and as long as *the forces of Sweden shall be united,* they do not believe that *the Livonians will dare do* more *than threaten: nevertheless,* Sir, *one may easily see* that the Court of Sweden *is taking pains* to *counteract* the *measures* of the *said nobility, and is beginning to watch the steps of the Livonians: I will tell* your Excellency, for *example,* the conduct which is pursued at present towards the city of Riga.

For five whole years the said city has been compelled to plead before the King for its ecclesiastical privileges, and their object here is to take from it the *jus episcopale*, as a thing incompatible with the privileges of a city which recognizes the sovereignty of the King of Sweden. I have told your Excellency in my former letters, that the object of taking away this privilege was to make the King Bishop, and through this principle to reunite all the houses which the magistracy may have alienated in virtue of the said privilege for the last five hundred years; this would make all the burgesses of Riga less secure in the possession of their houses, which have cost them dear enough after two great fires. Three years ago, Sir, the King put an end to this affair in favour of the city; and his Majesty confirmed to it the *jus episcopale*, in all its extent, even so far that the Consistory of Riga is to remain as it has been, that is to say, it is to consist both of laymen and priests as heretofore; in like manner the magistracy is to continue to have the direction of it, and the first minister of the Church chosen by them is to be confirmed by the King, and have the title of Superintendent of Riga. M. Fischer, who caused this privilege of the said city to be suspended up to the present moment, is to leave Riga to go to Dorpat, and to have nothing to say to the clergy of Riga; but the clergy of the rest of the country are to continue under his authority, as Superintendent on the part of the King. I shall take the liberty, Sir, of making some reflections upon the said resolution of the King so favourable to the city of Riga.

I. The ecclesiastical privileges of the city of Riga being in themselves just, and founded on a peaceable possession of five hundred years, the ministers of the King have not been at a loss for arguments to make his Majesty feel the injustice which there would be in taking these privileges away from the city. *However, as it is nothing new here to give a colour to justice for the King's advantage, and* this Monarch is not at all displeased *when this takes place, if he can only catch some advantage to himself*, it must be confessed that the Ministers *would rather have flattered their master's taste, than*

have given him *ideas favourable to the city of Riga,* if it had not *been that the money* of the said city *had brought them over to its interests.* I have been assured, Sir, that the *Councillor of the Chancery, M. Pieper,* has *received a handsome present* from the *said city,* and that *certain people among the senators have been no worse rewarded.*

II. They try to persuade me here that one of *the King of Sweden's motives* for confirming anew the ecclesiastical privileges of Riga, has been the *suspicion* in which *he holds the nobility of Livonia,* who *might very easily draw over the capital* of the country *to their own opinions, and thus cause Sweden a great deal of embarrassment.* In order to prevent the troublesome *consequences* which *might result from such a union,* and to *separate the nobility from the burgesses,* it has been thought *fit to humour the said city,* and *increase the affection* of the burgesses of the capital, *at the same time that they disoblige the rest of the country, by continuing to enforce the reunion.*

III. *However solemn the confirmation which the King gives Riga, the city cannot* promise itself *any better security than it has hitherto had;* for the King, having on his accession to the throne confirmed their ecclesiastical privileges, and *afterwards suspended them, may do the same thing a second time.* One *cannot assuredly* here *put the slightest reliance upon the Royal word,* and we have plenty of examples *that the King has three times over revoked his resolutions, in order to lay his hands upon the rights* and privileges *of his subjects. All that the city of Riga can hope is "beneficium ordinis."*

24.] LEIBNITZ TO STEPNEY.

Hanover, November 9th, 1692.

Sir,

The honour of your letter is extremely precious to me; your offers to favour me, and the kindness which you have shown in remembering what I took the liberty of begging of you, occasioned the more confusion in me, that I see that I can

hope for no proportionate opportunity of showing my zeal for your service. It is only the Duchess who has the power of relieving me from anxiety on this subject. This great Princess, who gave me first the honour of your acquaintance, has incurred the responsibility of making you amends for it. It is true that her treasure of kindnesses and favours is something like that of the indulgences of the Catholic Church, namely, inexhaustible, on account of that abundance of wisdom and talent which distinguish her above almost any one that one knows, and if it were not for Madame the Electress, I should leave the *almost* out. My Lord Douglass and Mr. Cunningham, having had the honour to pay their respects to the Duchess at Goer, have assured me, both by word of mouth and by letter, that it is an honour for Great Britain that a Princess of its blood-royal should so far surpass everything that could be reported of her; I told them that you were of the same mind. The Duchess thanks you for your verses; she finds both the English and the French ones extremely good: whatever comes from you, and whatever you approve of, cannot fail to be so. I have received some English books, among them the 'Table-Talk' of the late Mr. Selden, who was undoubtedly one of the first men of learning of his day, also 'The History of the Desertion,' by a Person of Quality, which, according to the title-page, was printed in 1689. Whether this piece is good for anything, you, Sir, no doubt, know better than most other people. English books come seldom to our notice, and for the most part we do not even know their titles. When I was in London I used to see a catalogue of the year, and I used to take all I could lay hands upon. They give us hopes of an important work of Mr. Newton, who is one of the greatest geniuses of this time for his knowledge of mathematics and nature. I return you thanks, Sir, for having delivered my note to M. de Spanheim: here is a letter for him from a French *savant*, which I entreat you to let him have. I do not think that I shall be able to have the honour of accompanying our Court when it goes to Berlin, as I have business which keeps me here; so

that I cannot entertain the hope of seeing you so soon, and as you will probably very soon go to Ratisbon, the distance will be even greater still; but I have friends at the Diet, particularly our Minister, M. de Weselow, who will be enchanted to have the honour of your acquaintance, and whom I shall be obliged to envy for it. I think that Mr. Huyges will have already left Ratisbon, as I have seen a letter which says that he has already taken leave, although he has left his family there still. Having nothing which deserves to be sent to you, I am obliged to send you something that does not deserve it, in order at least to testify what I would willingly do: they are some Latin verses that I made formerly upon Bombs. I am, with zeal and gratitude, Sir,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

LEIBNITZ.

25.] STEPNEY TO LEIBNITZ.

Berlin, November 6th, 1692.

Sir,

I have delayed to answer the letter with which you have honoured me until I knew to what the King destined me; at last I have learnt that his Majesty has appointed me his Resident at Vienna until Mr. Heemskerke returns from Turkey. I was much afraid that the haste I was ordered to make would deprive me of a thing which I so passionately desired; you will easily guess, Sir, that this was to throw myself at the feet of Madame the Duchess, who is the Princess of the whole world, for whom I have the greatest respect and veneration. I cannot find terms strong enough to express my sentiments on this subject, and you and my Lord Douglas cannot say half as much as I think. The contrary wind which has prevented my letters from crossing the sea has been favourable to me, by giving me the opportunity of satisfying at once my duty and my wishes. I had yesterday evening the honour to pay my respects to her Serene Highness the Duchess. It is not

necessary that I should add here the manner in which she spoke of you; suffice it to say that she did justice to your merits. I am infinitely obliged to you for the good impression which you have given her of me; I shall try to show myself not unworthy of it, or of the acquaintance of Mr. Hertel, which you have procured me. Your verses *In Bombos* have been found so good by Mr. Spanheim, that he has insisted upon having them to take a copy of them. He has received by another hand the letter you wrote him, but which you forgot to put in my packet. Selden's 'Table-Talk' is a very curious book, as are all the works which have appeared from that great man. 'The History of the Desertion' has not yet fallen into my hands; but it is a matter of so delicate and secret a nature, that I doubt very much whether there is any one capable of treating it properly, except indeed my Lord Portland and Dr. Burnet for foreign affairs, my Lord Sydney and Mr. Johnson for what concerns England: and it seems to me that it would be necessary for all four to unite together, which never will happen, in order to teach us the *dénouement* of so extraordinary an intrigue. It is a pity that a person as curious as you are should not establish some correspondent in London who would send you books from time to time, or at any rate the titles of those that are printed. In the accompanying Gazette you will see that there is a sort of 'Republic of letters,' which appears every month, which would be necessary for you; for by the abridgment there given of books, you would be able to judge which of them would be likely to be of any use to you. The English page of Madame the Duchess will present you with a copy of it in my name on his return to Hanover. I have no news to give you from this place: you will easily judge, from your own knowledge of the mutual affection of Madame the Duchess and Madame the Electress, what transports of joy were shown at this interview. Nothing now more is wanting to her E. H. than the Princess her sister-in-law, and to me than the Chevalier Colt and M. Leibnitz. Your Court is expecting with impatience a courier from the Imperial Court, whose steps in your affair are slow and

thoroughly Spanish. You will no doubt have received from Hamburg the collection of Public Acts respecting the Ninth Electorate: it seems to me that this book has been printed very inopportunely for your interests, and with the intention of retarding what you so much desire; or at least of sowing misunderstandings among the Princes of the Empire, by the publication of things which ought not to see the light in the present posture of affairs. But the business is so forward that there is nothing to fear on that score. I expect my despatches this evening. Pray continue me the honour of your remembrance; and as you have only chosen persons for your friends, do me the favour to procure me those that you may have at Vienna, for it may be five or six months perhaps before I can profit by the friendship of those you would kindly procure me at Ratisbon. Wherever destiny may lead me, I shall be, with great respect, etc. etc.,

G. STEPNEY.

26.] LEIBNITZ TO STEPNEY.

(Extract of my Letter to Mr. Stepney, English Resident at Vienna.)

January $\frac{2}{12}$, 1693.

I do not think my Lord Paget will be returned so soon from Turkey, for the Turks will procrastinate, in the hope of some change, and indeed they have little more than Temesvar left to lose. The proposal of the King of Poland in the Diet of Grodno, in which he seems to refer to the decision of the estates, whether the war shall be carried on or brought to a conclusion, must a little alarm the Imperial Court, and all well-intentioned people; for it seems as if the King, engaged as he is by a solemn treaty, ought at least to express himself very decidedly in favour of the continuation of the war, to show that he will not yield except on compulsion. I do not doubt that the French party will take advantage of it; however the Imperials are not napping either, and I think that

the Pope himself will take some pains to maintain an engagement which that one of his predecessors, whom he most professes to imitate, gave rise to. Although some of these angry Spaniards accuse this Pope of leaning to the side of France, I do not think that they have any right to do so; the only thing which he has done for France is to have listened to a proposal of agreement respecting the episcopal Bulls, and it seems to me that he is more interested in the question than even France itself. The Cardinals Destrées and Fourtain, and some others of that party, are said to have done their best to bring him into the opposition to the new Electorate; and it is certain that his opposition, especially if it had been strong and vigorous, would have been capable of embarrassing us extremely. Moreover the ecclesiastical Princes of Germany, who are almost all opposed to the elevation of my master, were only waiting for the signal from the Vatican to show all their animosity; but they have been disappointed in their expectation, and the Pope has declared, *vivæ vocis oraculo* (to speak like a canonist), that he is satisfied with what the Emperor has thought fit to do. I see that the Cardinals who are resident at Rome, and depend on the Court, already in their letters give my master the title of Elector, which they would not dare to do if they did not know the intentions of the Pope.

HANS ADAM VON SCHÖNING.

This gentleman, whose intrigues and misfortunes attracted European attention at the close of the seventeenth century, and whose influence greatly tended to complicate the diplomatical relations of the German Courts, was of an ancient and noble family, Lords of Tamsel, Warnick, and Birkholz, in the Mark of Brandenburg: his mother was Marianne von Schapelow. Hans Adam was born October 1st, 1641, and after studying at Wit-

temberg and Strasburg, visited France, and especially Orléans (in 1660), where he devoted himself to the mathematics. He subsequently visited other parts of France, Italy, Sicily, Zante, and Malta, where he refused the Cross of the Order, offered him on condition of adopting the Roman Catholic religion. From Genoa he directed his course to Spain, which country, as well as Portugal, he traversed; then visited England, and after again passing through France, returned to Brandenburg by way of the Low Countries. The reputation which he had acquired pointed him out to the notice of the Elector Frederick William, who employed him as Councillor of Legation; and in 1665 despatched him on a mission to the turbulent Bishop of Münster, Bernhart von Galen: at the same time he entered the military service as Captain in the Anhalt regiment of cavalry. In 1667 he was again distinguished by a mission to Holland. In 1668 he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Radzevill regiment of infantry, and six years later, 1674, became full Colonel and Commander of the same. In this capacity he was engaged in the war against France, and was wounded at the siege of Wasselsheim, near Strasburg, three fingers of his right hand being carried away by a ball. In the following war against Sweden he served with distinction, and was present at the sieges of Wolgast and Wollin; he also surprised Uckermünde. In 1676 his services in the reduction of Anklam and Demmin were rewarded with the post of Governor and Captain-General of Spandau; and one year later he distinguished himself highly at the siege of Stettin, and was promoted to the post of General-Wachtmeister of the infantry, a rank pretty nearly equivalent to that of Major-General. In 1678 he was also engaged

in the reduction of the Isle of Rügen and Stralsund, of which last-named town he was made Commandant; and lastly, in 1679, he succeeded in driving the Swedes entirely out of Prussia, and forcing them to take refuge in Livonia. On the return of peace Schöning continued in his command at Spandau till 1684, when the Elector raised him to the rank of Lieutenant-General of the Infantry, Colonel of the Foot-Guards, and a Privy Councillor, and appointed him Governor of the cities of Berlin, Cologne, and Friedrichswerder. In 1686, when the Elector engaged himself to send a contingent to the support of the Emperor against the Turks, Schöning was selected to command the eight thousand Prussians, who were marched into Hungary, and with them took an honourable part in the storm of Ofen. In 1688, the Elector Frederick III. (afterwards King of Prussia) promoted him to the rank of General-Field-Marshal-Lieutenant, and in this capacity he commanded the troops of Brandenburg against the French on the Lower Rhine in 1689; but becoming involved in some disputes with Lieutenant-General Barfuss, he thought proper to give in his resignation, which was accepted, and to request license to take service in foreign lands. His first intention was to offer his sword to the Dutch; the Signoria of Venice however and the Elector of Saxony (John George III.) having invited him in flattering terms to accept commands in their armies, he decided in favour of Saxony, and removed to Dresden with the rank and titles of General-Field-Marshal, Privy Councillor, and Privy Councillor at War, in activity, and Colonel of Horse and Foot. He accompanied the Elector against the French upon the Rhine; and on the death of John George, which soon after followed, was continued in all

his employments by his successor, John George IV., who further gave him the Colonelcy of his regiment of Foot-Guards. But the influence and favour of Schöning made him enemies: no doubt the low estimate of morality among public men at this period betrayed him into steps which, though they might be common, were not less unpatriotic and dangerous, not to say treasonable. There can now be no question that Schöning was in the pay of France, and that he was the centre of a cabal favourable to the designs of that power, and consequently hostile to the interests of the Empire and the principles of the Grand Alliance. It was a point of great consequence for the Allies to draw the Elector of Saxony to their side; failing which, they could not reckon upon the active co-operation either of Brunswick-Lüneburg or Brandenburg. At the same time that, by means of flattery and presents, the Elector's mistress was won over to their views, Schöning was removed by an act of violence, which it is certainly difficult to excuse, except upon the principle that *salus populi* is *suprema lex*. In 1692 he had retired to Töplitz in Bohemia, where he was using the warm baths, when he was suddenly arrested, by the Emperor's order, and conveyed under an escort of two hundred horse to Brünn in Moravia, where he was for some time closely confined. Public opinion accused King William III. of being the first suggestor of this irregular proceeding; and certainly, even if this be not strictly the case, it is not to be denied that he warmly approved of it, and did his best to prevent Schöning from being set at liberty. Nevertheless the objects of the Allies were greatly endangered by the steps thus taken in hopes of furthering them. The Elector of Saxony, and his brother Frederick Augustus (afterwards King of Poland),

were deeply offended at the affront put upon themselves by this seizure of their General. Schöning's family and friends left no stone unturned to obtain his liberty and satisfaction for his arrest: his accomplices neglected no intrigue to get him out of the hands of the Emperor before he should be induced to reveal the plans in which they had been concerned together. They were answered by a threat to bring the unfortunate General to trial; and no doubt, had this been done, matter enough would have been found to cost himself and others their heads. He was however at length released, upon signing an undertaking not to serve in any public employment, civil or military, without the Emperor's express pardon and license, and returned to Dresden in 1694, where he was at once reinstated in all his charges. His release is attributed not more to the entreaties of his family and his employers, than to the sum of 30,000 rixdollars, adroitly conveyed to one of the Imperial ministers. When at last the Elector of Saxony suffered himself to be persuaded to enter into the Alliance (at first for one year only), and to supply a Saxon corps to act against the insurgents in Hungary,—for Prince Louis of Baden objected to have them on the Rhine, and the Circle of Franconia positively refused to furnish them with winter-quarters,—Schöning's entire restitution was made a condition; and the Elector, who proposed to lead his own forces, insisted upon being accompanied by his General. This, as well as the other conditions proposed by the Elector, were so distasteful to the Emperor, that for a long time the treaty with Saxony was in the utmost danger. In the meanwhile Schöning's health rapidly declined, and on the 28th of August, 1696, he fell a victim to repeated violent attacks of the stone and gout. This account will

be sufficient to explain the allusions to him which occur in the negotiations with the Court of Dresden.

27.] Sir W. Colt to Rt. Hon. E. Southwell (Extract).

Dresden, Tuesday, February 7th, 169$\frac{2}{3}$, *O. S.*

Count Staremberg tells me, that the Imperial Court will hardly consent to remove Schöning from the prison where he is, but that the Emperor himself pressed that he might have some more liberty in that place: tho' I find most of opinion that, if the Elector will take it as a favour, he may be removed to Grätz in Styria, and this some of the moderate party here will be contented with, if they cannot obtain Breslau for his prison, w^{h} they wish because 't is nearer this place. But the violent party still endeavour to possess the Elector, that, if he be steady, the Emperor will comply, and remove Schöning to a free city; tho' I cannot see any reason for this their hopes, but rather believe it proceeds from despair, when they think what mountains of gold they lose in this conjuncture by his confinement, and this makes them venture to hazard him and all; however the C^{t} Staremberg fails not to assure them, that if this business comes to a rupture, they will immediately bring Schöning to his trial, which they have hitherto forborne out of a real respect for the Elector, for that many things will then be made publick which the Emperor w^{d} willingly conceal. . . . I have gained much credit by desiring to have the *Lady's* picture for the Queen. I durst not ask it for his Ma^{ty}, for he had one day in passion told her, that by her earnestness in pressing, and the expressions she used of the King, that she lov'd him, tho' she had never seen him. The painting is not very good, but it is like her, and I will send it by the Herald to my Lord Portland. This little affair hath also obliged her highly, insomuch *that she gives me great hopes of good success; and I fail not to give assurances to her that she will have a grateful return so soon as the Treaty is*

concluded, for without her assistance there would have been nothing to do now, etc. etc.

28.] LEIBNITZ.

Hanover, February $\frac{2}{12}$, 1693.

Sir,

Although I know that you are busied with the affairs of a great King, yet I venture to write these words to you, partly to keep myself in your graces, partly to entreat you to favour in England the work which your printer Ammon has undertaken on my advice, in which a number of pieces will be contained which will throw light even upon the ancient rights and affairs of England. If it were possible through your favour to obtain any curious pieces of this age proper to be incorporated in our *Codex juris gentium,* I should feel under great obligation to you, and it should be publicly acknowledged. The keepers of the ancient records of the kingdom and of the principal Courts, and more particularly of the Courts of Admiralty, would be able to supply some. I believe that M. le Chevalier Wilson has the superintendence of the records and charters in the Tower. There are also some excellent things in the library of the late Mr. Cotton; and those who have been employed in public affairs are accustomed to have store of these curious pieces by them. I have no further part in this Work than that of furnishing such pieces through the favour of my patron or friends. Not only treaties or alliances, but wills, marriage contracts, judgements, and other things of that sort, are of use to us. If one could find anything touching the brother of the Portuguese Ambassador whom Cromwell put to death; *item,* touching the result of the 'Advocatio Hispanica,' which was pleaded by Albericus Gentilis, in his book with that title: all this and the like would be useful; but, Sir, be it understood, only as far as your convenience permits it, for I would not be troublesome either to you or your friends. However the publisher hopes to dispose of several copies in England, since the work contains many arti-

cles concerning that country; and the old French, which is found in some of these ancient pieces, is precisely that of your early laws, which your legists are obliged to know. Not knowing with certainty if Mr. Stepney is at Vienna or elsewhere, and having no doubt that you know it, Sir, I take the liberty of addressing this letter for him to you, entreating you not to take it ill, and hoping for some opportunity of proving to you by some agreeable service with how much zeal I am, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

P.S.—Monsieur the Elector of Brandenburg started yesterday for Zell, accompanied by the Elector my master; they will return from thence to Berlin. Madame the Electress of Brandenburg will remain a short time longer here. We have been at work here for some time to reconcile the Prince of East Friesland with his Estates who have sent deputies hither.

29.] STEPNEY TO LEIBNITZ.

Vienna, February 4, 1693.

Sir,

I beg pardon for having delayed till now to thank you for the acquaintances which you have procured me by means of your letters. I saw M. Consbruck for the first time at the Spanish Ambassador's, where there was a conference between the ministers of the Emperor and those of the Allies; and I have since visited him, and struck up a friendship with him. It would be impossible to entrust your affairs to a person who would acquit himself better. For my part I esteem him all the more that I am persuaded he has an infinite esteem for you. MM. de Bennebourg and Gudenus I have not yet had the good fortune to find at home. I have received many civilities from M. Grote and M. Limbach; the latter tells me that he has received a letter from Madame the Electress in which she speaks well of me, which I believe myself to owe to your good offices, like every other kindness which this generous

Princess has shown me. I entreat you, Sir, to maintain them by the same means you acquired them for me, since there is nothing of which I am so ambitious as the good graces of her E. H. You may judge by this, Sir, of the pleasure which I had on my arrival here to find that the Serene House was become an Electoral one; and, as in great transports of joy one is not master of oneself, I was very near taking the liberty of expressing it in a letter to herself by a letter of congratulation. However, after all, the respect I owe her has kept me within the bounds of discretion; and as I am among Catholics, you will not find it strange that I adopt their custom of addressing my vows through the channel of a favourite. It is then to you, Sir, that I have recourse; but what embarrasses me most is, that I do not know whether I ought not rather to congratulate the Electorate than the Electress, since Madame the Duchess, by the greatness of her birth and her personal qualities, confers more splendour on this dignity than she receives from it herself; and glorious as the name of Electress is, an Englishman may well venture to say that the Duchess of Hanover has already something more, and to avow even here in Vienna that the Emperor has rather done justice to, than conferred a favour on, her illustrious family. It remains now for our Parliament to do as much after the example of his Imperial Majesty. Before you receive this letter, the Court of Berlin will probably be at Hanover, to make the joy of the Carnival complete. Here, where I promised myself so much amusement, the Carnival has been so dull, on account of the death of Madame the Electress of Bavaria, that I am not a bit afraid of Lent, and hardly perceive that today is Ash-Wednesday. They have punished a band of musicians for having played somewhere out of the Church, which is the only place one goes to for diversion, which makes me rather a better Christian than usual. One day at Berlin is better than a month here. Far removed as I am from her, I retain ever the grateful remembrance of the kindness of Madame the Electress of Brandenburg; and as she has a great share in the dignity which has been attained by the

House from which she is sprung, I entreat you to translate for her, into a Christian language, these two verses, which at first seem more like a riddle than a compliment, but in which nevertheless my feelings towards the Electoral Houses are sincerely expressed, but which, without a commentary in your fashion, might be ill-understood:—

"Electoris eras Conjux, jam Filia facta es
Sera, precor, fias, sed diuturna parens

I mean to say that, as she is the wife and daughter of an Elector, she may become also the mother of one; but that for the Elector's sake that may happen but late, and that her family may be eternal. I once thought that I had hit it off better by expressing my thought in this manner:—

"Sis precor, ô Mater, sera perennis Avia;"

but I was obliged to change it all for a single iota. To what trouble are not poor poets subject when it is necessary to sacrifice good sense to the measure!—one must be an excellent poet, as you are, to make the one agree perfectly with the other. After all the promises that my friends in London have made me, I find them so little punctual that I cannot venture to promise you a regular correspondence on the part of any one of them, although it is my belief that I could not procure for them a greater advantage. If one Mr. Pagett was at the Academy of Wolfenbüttel, as I have been told (he is tutor to Mr. Montague), I would recommend him to you as a person who would answer your purpose; he has not left England long; he is a member of our College at Cambridge, as well as Mr. Newton, next to whom he is perhaps the most famous mathematician of our country. I should be glad not to finish without having some good news to tell you, and especially touching the peace with the Turks; but it is more than six weeks since we have received any letters from Mr. Paget or Mr. Heemskerke. We have just despatched an estafette to them, in order that they may take advantage at the Ottoman Court of the retreat of the French from before Rheinfels. If you have not yet seen the last protest against

the Ninth Electorate, I am sending it to M. du Cros, who will let you see it. I hope you will excuse the liberty I take in troubling you with the letter I write to him; and if M. De Spannheim is at Hanover with the Court, pray assure him of my obeisances; and believe me that I feel an especial pleasure when I have the opportunity of saying that I am, Sir, etc. etc.,

G. Stepney.

Over the original Latin distich Leibnitz had written the following translation, much in the style of Nostradamus:—

"Femme d'un Électeur, puis Fille; enfin soyez
Tige des Électeurs, mais Mère tard assez!"

30.] Bacmeister to Leibnitz.

February, 1693.

Sir, my Benefactor,

I entreat your pardon for having delayed so long to answer the two last letters you did me the honour to write to me. I had already seen Mr. Stepney's verses which he made on the subject of Madame the Electress of Brandenburg, and lost no time in communicating to him the French translation which you were kind enough to send me. He likes it very much; and having found in it some points which were wanting in the original, he set to work at once, to get into it the good wishes for our Elector, in which he has succeeded very well, so that now there cannot be anything shorter and prettier than the couplet, which runs thus:—

"Electoris eras Conjux, nunc Filia facta es;
Sis modo sera Parens, sis quoque sera Soror."

The Imperial Court is gone, according to its wont, to Laxemburg, and the greater part of the ministers have also retired to their country-houses, where they will stay as long as his Majesty remains at Laxemburg.

Everything is on the move in Hungary. The Imperial regiments are already on their march for the rendezvous at Maris-marthen, near Esseck, on this side the river. Our troops are also beginning to leave their winter-quarters; but there are fears that this march, undertaken so much earlier than usual in the year, will ruin the troops before the opening of the campaign; for you know that Hungary is an extremely marshy country, and that the rain, of which we have had a good deal for some time past, spoils the roads deucedly and renders them impassable. At present it is positively asserted that the Duc de Croy will have the command of the army in Hungary. I wish God may take care of the Allies in that quarter; for if the least mischance should befall them, there are no resources here at present, and everything would be at the mercy of the enemy. There is no hope just now of the Bishop of Passau going to Rome, and it is believed that the Prince of Mansfeldt is determined upon for this embassy. His Excellency has received your discourse upon the Barrier Treaty, and I will take care that it shall not get into any other hands before the proper time. It is much to be desired that the other work which employs you at present were finished. The public is deeply obliged to you for having dug up and brought to light so many interesting things; for, besides its increasing the deserts which men of learning admit you to have, I suspect that if you had left the trouble to M. Hesselin, the world would probably not have seen so admirable a work so soon. I am much obliged to you for having communicated the plan of it to me: I have shown it to his Excellency M. le Président, who found it very good and useful to the public. I am, with much zeal and respect, etc. etc.,

BACMEISTER.

P.S.—I think that we shall start from here shortly; M. Limbach is also preparing for his departure for Ratisbon. Adieu!

31.] STEPNEY TO LEIBNITZ.

Vienna, March $\frac{8}{18}$, 1693.

Sir,

Even if my time was as precious to me as you think, how could I employ it better than in writing to you and reading your letters, which will always give me as much pleasure as they do me honour? We have no news from my Lord Paget. I send you an extract from the letters of Mr. Heemskerke, which a courier has brought hither, where they cause great alarm, on account of the great preparation which he says the Turks are making for the approaching campaign. You will also have learnt by the published news that the King of Poland intends to carry on the war by his own sole authority, although the Tartars threaten him extremely. The death of the French Ambassador comes just in the nick of time. I should be ready to believe in what you tell me of the good intentions of the Pope, if it were not that his Nuncio here intrigues in every possible way to induce the Emperor to make himself a party to a separate peace between France and the Princes of Italy. You will perhaps say, that the Holy Father is apprehensive for the patrimony of St. Peter if the French advance any further into the country; but be pleased to set down what he does to the solicitations of M. de Rébénac, to whom he has undoubtedly lent his ear. After all, I do not think that the Nuncio will succeed; for the Spanish Ambassador, who is in better credit here than he is, does all he can to counteract his intrigues, and to get him into bad odour, for endeavouring to separate the Allies. I am charmed to hear that several of the Cardinals have congratulated his E. H.: it is a proof that his Holiness will soon do as much. But what gives more weight to your business is the declaration which the King of Sweden has just made in favour of your Elector, and I doubt not that the King of Denmark and the Bishop of Münster when they see their chaplet ravel out will be ashamed of standing alone. I say nothing of the Duke of Wolfenbüttel; I hope that his own interest, and the

good offices of the King, will bring him back into the right path. I had the honour to write to you and to M. du Cros on the 4th of February, but having received no answer either from the one or the other, my letters may possibly have been lost, although I commended them particularly to M. Limbach. I told you that I was so unlucky as not to have in England any friends upon whose punctuality I could rely for a correspondence. I received some time since a reinforcement of books, which the herald brought me as far as Leipzig, among which there are scarcely any good ones; amongst them there is a translation of Juvenal and Persius into English verse, made by several persons, which I would say is not bad if I had not translated the eighth Satire myself. Mr. Dryden, the first of our poets, who distributed the work among us and gave it us to do, has reserved the sixth Satire for his own hand; and I can fully assure you, to his honour, that the original has lost none of its shamelessness through him, infamous as it is, but the excellence of his verses and the force of his expressions are admirable. It is Mr. Bertie who is to go to Denmark, and my Lord Douglas to Sweden, if his father will let him; they were both of them appointed almost at the same time that I received the order to come to this Court, but as the King has more business here than elsewhere I was despatched first, and their journey has been put off so long that I begin to doubt whether it will take place at all: before the King undertakes his own into Holland we shall know all about it. I learn that the affair of East Friesland is happily terminated, at which their Deputy here seems much pleased. Father Norris is in much too great a hurry about the Bishop of St. Asaph's Chronology; it will be a good while still before it comes out. It will be a terrible volume, and one which, *entre nous*, and saving the honour of a Bishop, would be much more in place at the trunkmaker's than in the Vatican, if all the work resembles the sample that fell into my hands, and which I would send you to judge of the work if I had not thrown it among my useless papers as a thing not worth the trouble of reading over again. I

well remember that he treated of Deucalion's deluge, which was almost entirely taken from the Mythology of Natalis Comes. In all that regards that science I content myself with the Tables of Helvius's and Petavius's Rationarum Temporum. It is I, Sir, who have juster reason than you to fear being troublesome, which makes me the sooner finish; and indeed no letter, however long it might be, would be capable of expressing with what zeal and attachment I am, Sir, etc. etc.,

G. STEPNEY.

32.] ENCLOSED IN THE ABOVE LETTER.

(Extracts from Mr. Heemskerke's letters, dated from Adrianople, 23rd of December, and the 5th and 17th of January.)

Not to trouble you with a relation of his journey and the civilities which the Turks paid him on the way, it is enough to say that he arrived at Adrianople on the 4th of December, and that immediately afterwards he offered to visit the Caimacan *incognito*, who however begged to be excused receiving him till the Ambassador had first seen the Grand Vizier, which took place on the 12th.

Mr. Heemskerke sent to compliment the Grand Vizier the day after his arrival, and two days afterwards demanded an audience, with the hope of discovering what success he was likely to have in his negotiation; but the Vizier put him off for some days, in order to get rid of the awkwardness which is common on such occasions. And all the instances which Mr. Heemskerke has made at different times for a speedy answer to his proposals of the 13th of October have been eluded, on the pretext that the Grand Vizier must first speak to the Grand Signor about it, that the Grand Divan must meet, etc. At last Maurocordato told him plainly that no answer could be given to his project for a peace till the arrival of my Lord Paget, who was then *en route* for Belgrade, and who they imagine has more advantageous offers to make them than Mr. Heemskerke's. That on this account, even if he

should succeed in obtaining an audience of the Grand Vizier, it would have no result. Mr. Heemskerke takes this answer for a sign that the Turks have no intention to make peace at least during this year. This is the most important part of his letters, the rest is only news.

That on the 4th of January the death of Sultan Mahomet (he that was deposed) was published without any one's having heard that he had been ill; his body was sent the same day to Constantinople, to be buried there. That they are making great preparations for the approaching campaign; that the report goes that the Grand Seignor may possibly take part in it in person, or at least that the Grand Vizier will open it early, and that the Tartars are to be in great force before him upon the frontier, and that their new Cam promises to do wonders. That the Begler-Bey of Romania, who is a Bosnian, promises 20,000 Albanians for the approaching campaign on condition that they send him money in time. That the Grand Vizier has thrown three Pashas into prison; namely, Emir Pasha of Ogre in Macedonia, Gallil Pasha, the last Governor of Bessaro, Sem Mahomed Pasha, and Ermene Mahomet Arga, for moneys which the Grand Vizier claims as due to the Crown.

That on the 20th of December the French Ambassador had an audience of the Grand Vizier, which lasted more than an hour and a half, and at which nobody was present but the Interpreter. That this Ambassador makes great presents of watches set with diamonds, which greatly annoys Mr. Heemskerke for not being better provided than he is with the like.

That there are three ships of war in the Dardanelles, which are to take some one on board on the part of the Porte, to try and bring about an agreement with the people of Tripoli. The merchants of Constantinople fancied at first that these ships had brought great treasures to the embassy; but the whole is reduced at last to six chests, which are supposed to be diverted partly for his ordinary outlay and his small charges for secret service, and partly to support Tekeli and the Prince of Moldavia.

That the French Ambassador having chosen to take under his protection certain rebellious subjects of the Prince of Wallachia, in order to render him odious to the Porte, had had the mortification of seeing them clapped in prison, and of having to deliver up their goods and servants who had taken refuge in his hotel.

33.] STEPNEY TO LEIBNITZ.

Vienna, April 11, 1693.

Sir,

I thank you very humbly for the two letters which you did me the honour to write to me on the $\frac{2}{12}$th and $\frac{1}{2}\frac{2}{3}$th of March. I hope that you did not communicate my distich to M. Spannheim without adding your own to it, which makes it perfectly intelligible, and is indeed much superior to it: it being in fact very difficult to compress the sense into two French verses, and next to impossible to do it into two English ones, without making the whole more like a prophecy of Nostradamus than a compliment. All that I have been able to do in my mother-tongue has been to use four lines for it: here they are, such as they are:—

> "You bless'd already an Elector's bed;
> That glory now surrounds your father's head:
> Late may your son that dignity obtain,
> And long may the immortal lineage reign."

The word 'glory' in English signifies the rays which surround a sacred head. M. du Cros has answered the letter I wrote him: I am not at all sorry that he has attacked Sir William Temple, because that has produced the continuation of his Memoirs; for I am persuaded that when this work is complete it will yield in nothing to the best memoirs we have from the French, bating perhaps a little vanity. It is not the Count de Vaudemont who is to be Ambassador at Rome; many others are spoken of for it, as the Count de Montecuculi, the Count de Lamberg, the Prince de Lobkowitz, the

Bishop of Passau, and the Count Cannitz. It is not reported here that this last is to relieve Count Windischgrätz, although it is true enough that this Count has often solicited the Emperor to recall him from the Hague. I send you the answer which the King my master has given the Estates in Suabia. Prince Louis of Baden has done me the honour to write to me, that the two Circles have made their last efforts, and have given him together the absolute command of 24,000 men, and 400,000 florins; this, with the 300,000 he received from the Emperor when he went from hence, will put him in a condition to face the French, who, as they tell us, will do him the honour of opposing the Dauphin to him at the head of 80,000 men, which will be a great relief for Flanders and Savoy. It is perfectly true that there was some talk here of that Prince's returning to take the command of the army in Hungary, but this was only intended to appease some spirits which have not yet recovered from the fright they have been in ever since the last siege of Vienna; but the instances I have made here, in the name of his Majesty, seconded by the remonstrances of the Duke of Würtemberg and the Deputy from the Estates of Franconia, that the two Circles will consider themselves disengaged from the promise they gave to make all their efforts if Prince Louis does not remain on the Rhine; and Count Hamilton, who arrived here from the Palatinate a few days ago, having so well insinuated the same thing to the Emperor and Empress, adding, that it was to be feared that the Circles might accept the neutrality which France offers them; that at present it seems that there is but little fear that the Prince will return into Hungary; and all the less since the last letters received from Mr. Heemskerke, dated Adrianople, 20th of February, have again raised our hopes, which the first had a little let down; for he asserts positively that he does not despair yet of coming back with a peace; that the Ambassador of France does indeed all he can to prevent it, but that people begin to perceive that he is afraid he shall not succeed; that he is in bad odour with the Cham, whom he would gladly force to take the field early; and he is not

on the best terms possible with the Grand Vizier, on account of his having caballed with the Hospodar of Moldavia against the Prince of Wallachia. We learn also by these letters that the Lieutenant-General of the Janissaries has been deposed, and that my Lord Paget arrived at Adrianople on the 19th of February, from whence however he does not write a word, not having had his audience of the Grand Vizier. I see by the extract of a letter from Smyrna, which our Consul at Venice has sent me, that the said my Lord is under obligations to Count Tekeli for not having perished with all his suite in the ices between Belgrade and Semendria, this Count having had the kindness to lend him three or four of his carriages for four days, and thirty-four waggons for his baggage. You will easily judge that it is his interest to keep well with our Ambassadors, since he has every reason to desire that the mediators of the peace should be friends to himself; nevertheless it must be confessed that it was very fortunate for Lord Paget that the Count acted with so much civility towards him. Since the death of Carafa there is no more talk of a separate peace with Italy, except indeed that the Nuncio was bold enough to insinuate to the Emperor that he would have given pleasure to the King of Spain by lending his ear to one, to which that King was not opposed; which obliged the Spanish Ambassador to show, in the Memoir which I annex, the falsehood of what the Nuncio had advanced, and this broke the neck of that intrigue. It must be confessed that the King of France has acted as a generous enemy in releasing the Emperor's horses, considering how much they are in want of them in France; but you know that this King piques himself upon his generosity, as we have just seen in his proceedings with regard to the Duke of Würtemberg. He is here at this time to complain of their taking the administration from him: not that he has any hope of recovering his employment, but that he thinks his honour is wounded by the suspicions which the world may entertain of his conduct; inasmuch as the Emperor has deprived him of the administration at a time when it was possible for him to know that the Duke was at

liberty and on his road back to Germany; he therefore demands some public reparation, but how this is to be made I cannot comprehend. He has presented to his Imperial Majesty a memorial concerning his affair, with a relation how he was taken prisoner, which is curious enough. I think as you do, that the Elector Palatine had better have gulped down his compliment than have made it with so bad a grace. I have seen a letter which he wrote to his Imperial Majesty on the 20th of January, and another of the Elector of Cologne of the 30th, in which these two Electors, although they hide tolerably well their resentment at the Emperor's having granted the investiture, yet cannot help blaming the Elector of Mayence for having hurried that affair too much, and they hope that it will not be so with regard to the Introduction. You know of course that the King my master has recognized his E. H. by a letter of congratulation, dated the 24th of February, of which I do not send you a copy, in order not to be beforehand with Sir William Colt, who will have the honour of presenting it to the Elector. If you give me time, I shall perhaps be able to inform you who is the author of the remarks upon M. Rébénac's harangue. I have some reason to think that he is here, and that he is a Savoyard; I do not know his name, but I was talking not a long while ago with a very pleasant person at Count Strattman's, and I noticed that he blushed when he heard me praise this piece, as if he had some share in it himself. The phrase "*fornicabo super altare*," and the other impieties, appear to me intentional extravagances; nevertheless one does not know into what expressions the French may suffer themselves to be carried away, in order to produce an effect with their allies. Mr. Halley's project seems to me very extraordinary for this time; I see by it that these sort of people will not give up running about the world to make discoveries, or blowing the bellows to find the philosopher's stone; I wish him a pleasant journey, and I promise not to envy him the lands he discovers if he will only let us enjoy in peace those which are already discovered. My Lord Douglas returning from Scotland to England fell ill by the

way, and it is feared will die. They have sent me the title of the book which you are about to publish, and have requested one of my friends to send it me the moment it appears: politicians will be under great obligations to you for having given them so useful a work. We have just this moment received letters from Adrianople from Mr. Heemskerke dated the 13th of March. My Lord Paget has had a favourable audience of the Grand Vizier: he is to have his audience of the Grand Signor on the 16th, and then we shall know what the resolutions of the Ottoman Porte are touching peace. The Grand Vizier appears inclined to it, and the Cham of the Tartars will follow his opinions; but the Mufti and the men of the Law, as well as the Aga of the Janissaries, are opposed to it: however Mr. Heemskerke still hopes to bring us good news. I am, Sir, with much zeal, etc. etc.,

G. Stepney.

34.] Stepney to Leibnitz.

Vienna, July $\frac{12}{22}$, 1693.

Sir,

I have not done myself the honour to write to you for some time, not having any news worthy of your curiosity; at present I have some which are considerable enough. By the annexed extract, which I have lately received from my Lord Paget, you will see the state of affairs in Turkey; those of Hungary are going on very well. At this moment the Imperials will be before Belgrade; for on the $\frac{16}{26}$th instant, which was the King of the Romans' birthday, who has just begun his sixteenth year, there arrived here a courier with letters from the Duc de Croy, in which he states that the Imperial army, which has always continued its march between the Danube and the Theiss, crossed the Danube on the 3rd not far from Peterwardein, and was encamped between Salankamen and Semlin; that they had had a number of boats brought on waggons, in order to transport some thousand infantry to

the other side of the Save, to take post while they make a bridge of these boats to allow of the passage of the Cavalry and Artillery. He thought he should pass on the $\frac{16}{26}$th (which was the day the courier arrived here) without meeting with the least resistance; for, as you may see by my Lord Paget's letter, the army, which was not to begin its march from Adrianople till the 1st of July, will scarcely be at Belgrade in time to prevent our enterprise upon that place, in which there are only 6000 Janissaries, and about 2000 more in the neighbourhood. They flatter themselves that the city will not hold out long, as the Turks have withdrawn the best part of their cannon from it, which they have transported to Widdin, where they have begun to make a bridge across the Danube to cross into Transylvania, in the belief that Temesvar, and not Belgrade, was the object of their enemies; all this, added to the changes in the Turkish ministry, to the strength of the Imperial army, and to the experience of the Duc de Croy (who ought to know the strength and weakness of the place, seeing that he was its commander at the time when the Turks took it), all, I say, persuades me that it will soon fall into the hands of the Imperials. But perhaps the Grand Vizier, seeing the bad condition of his affairs, will avoid this blow, and take advantage of the presence of Mr. Heemskerke to accept the propositions which he has made on the footing of *uti possidetis*, and to conclude a peace or a truce in a hurry, as the Turks did before the battle of St. Gotthard in the year 1664, which would come very seasonably for the good of the common cause. This is the way in which the most enlightened people of this Court argue; and it is no doubt with this view that the Grand Vizier could not make up his mind either to let Mr. Heemskerke go or not. This news is too good not to be communicated to you, or to lose this opportunity of repeating the assurance that I shall be all my life long, with all the attachment of which I am capable, Sir, etc. etc.,

G. Stepney.

Leibnitz's Remarks on the above Letter.

The interests of the King* are so intimately connected with our own, that there is no honest man in Germany who ought not to be delighted to see them prosper; if there is any one in the world who is of this faith, I am the man. I preach for ever at the top of my voice that in this war our fate is at stake as much or even more than that of England: those who doubt this are wilfully blind. I see we are on the point of losing Liége and Cologne; and if that happens, the Rhine is as good as lost, and the whole machinery of the Empire will fall entirely to pieces; for if the Rhine is in the power of France, what will become of the Electoral College? so that Germany ought now to redouble its efforts: *sed surdis fabulam.* Private people must comfort themselves with the reflection that is the business of the powers that be, who will repent one day of their coolness; and I suspect that those gentlemen in the North will not be the last to find it out, although they do think that France is a long way off.

35.] (*Extract of a Letter from his E. my Lord Paget.*)

Adrianople, June $\frac{18}{28}$, 1693.

The Caimacam of Constantinople has been dismissed from his post and sent as Pasha into Canea. Yesterday the new Caimacam was invested in this city, and despatched to go and take possession of his employment. The last was Pasha of Salonica, whence he was called to be made Caimacam; so that since my arrival in Turkey I have seen the whole ministry change without the least noise or tumult, which is not the result of good order, but rather of the weakness of this Empire.

The Grand Vizier is a very weak man. The Caimacam of Adrianople does everything, but he is not liked, so that we expect another general change, which no doubt will take place

* William of Orange.

after this campaign. The army does not stir as yet, and will only begin its march twelve days hence.

On the $\frac{6}{16}$th the Grand Vizier sent Maurocordato to tell me that I might pursue my journey to Constantinople whenever I pleased; and I am preparing for it, although they give no answer to my proposal. In two days I shall have an audience of the Grand Vizier, and then I shall know more of his intentions.

It is four days since M. Heemskerke notified to the Grand Vizier, by letter, that he had received orders to return to Vienna, but he has given him no answer. I am told that they will not let him leave. Mr. Collier had a moment's audience of the Grand Vizier on this subject, but without getting anything of him.

The French Ambassador boasts of his master's strength; the people listen and believe. Nevertheless some vigorous action on the Rhine or in Hungary would pave the way for a treaty of peace this winter. On this subject I will entertain you more at length hereafter.

36.] THE ELECTORAL PRINCE OF BRUNSWICK (GEORGE I.) TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

Du Camp de Wemmel, le $\frac{3}{13}$ d'Aoust.

Je suis bien fasché, Madame, que Vost. Alts. a ettée d'en des sy grendes inquyetudes pour mais fraires, et croyais y auoir pourveu par la lettre que j'auois écrit à Mons. mon Pere, qu'y a apparrament ettée donnée trop tart à la poste. Nous sommes presentement issy dens un fort bau camp, renforsés du cohr qui auoit etté détasché en Flendre, et il ne paroist plus à l'armée quelle a combattue. Mons. de Luxembourg n'a jusques issy profité d'auqun auentage que d'auoir tiré quelques contribusions du pais de Bolduc, comme nous en auons tirés 4 fois autent de Flendre; la partie est encore assés egale. Lon maine toujour la mesme vie que lon a fait; le Roy visite le camp touts les jours, paroit de for bon humeur, et nous auons

déga oublié la batallie perdue, den lésperence d'auoir nostre reuenge une autre fois. Je souhaite den pouuoir donner la nouvelle a Vost. Altesse, et quelle soit bien persuadée que je seres toute ma vie son tres humble et tres obeyssent fis et serviteur,

GEORGE LOUIS.

37.] THE ELECTORAL PRINCE OF BRUNSWICK TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

Du Camp de S. Quintin, le $\frac{31}{10}$ *d'* $\frac{Aoust.}{Septemb.}$

Je suis bien obligé à Vostre Altesse de la paine quelle a prise en mécriuent une sy grende lettre, et ne menquerés pas, quend l'occasion sen presentera, de faire les compliments de Madame à Monsr l'Electeur de Baviere. Il faut esperér que presentement que les Danois ont bombardé Ratzebourg ils s'en tiendront la, et ne continueront pas à nous attacquér par derriere d'une maniere sy malhonnaite et sy peu juste, pendent que nous auons un sy puissent et dengereux ainemis deuen nous. Sy naux soldats auay la calité de finger im lock, sela viendroit bien a propos, et nostre ainemy de par derriere pouroit ettre resseu comme il le merite. Vostre Altesse a raison de dire que il ny a poin de bon sen den le poin d'honneur; il ny a riain a repondre, sy non que sed'une schose etablie de touts temps den le monde; les deux seeses seray bien plus heureux, sy il ny auay point de maisures a garder, puisque les hommes ne se feray pas tuer, et les femmes seray maitresses de leur volonté. Je ne voy poin de raison pourquoy lon a mis le poin d'honneur dens des schoses sy diffisiles et sy contraires a la nature, et trouve que se seroit un veritable mojain d'auoir bien des honnaites gens, de mettre le poin d'honneur en sens qui ne l'est presentement pas; sela pouroit ossy produire que nous ne marscherions pas au secour de Scharleroy, que selon les apparence les frensais ataqueront. Tout le monde voit que il est asses difficile de le secourir, quoy que la plasse soit en etat de faire quelque resistense; mais le temps nous

fera voir seus qui en arrivera. Mon fraire Cristian a etté fort mallade a Brusselle, mais il est presentement toutafait hor de denger. Je demeure toujour de Vost. Alts.

Le tres humble fis et seruiteur,

GEORGE LOUIS.

38.] BLATHWAYT TO STEPNEY.

Loo, 8th Octob., 1693.

Sir,

My last to you was of the 2d inst., acknowledging your former letters, and sending you your credentials, instructions, and commission, which are like to reach Dresden before you. The President de la Tour has been since that time with the King, and some propositions and expedients are in debate for the giving the Duke of Savoy more Foot, and getting the Cuirassiers hither, which, untill they be digested and agreed on with the Elector of Bavaria, I shall not trouble you with, since you are now entertained with other matters. I have now received your last of the $\frac{18}{28}$ past, and been enabled by it to explain to his Maj^ty^ how solemnly the French propositions of peace have been exploded by the Diet of Ratisbonne.

You will understand from Sir P. Rycaut what wonderfull varieties there are in the negotiation of the business of Ratzburg, which nevertheless cannot fail of ending well, if a warr, which the French drive at, can be avoided in those parts, which would occasion the recalling of the Lüneburg troops, and of the Danish too, which latter the King would not part with, as he is not obliged by the Treaty till before the end of the warr with France.

We are hastening to England, where I shall deliver up my correspondence to Mr. S. Trenchard, from whom you will hereafter receive your instructions. But to give you a satisfactory answer at present to your question concerning Schoning, and what the Baron Bennebourg pretends to have heard from Sr W. Colt, I may assure you Sir William would not

use so unadvised an expression, to draw upon his Maj^ty and himself the ill will of the Elector of Saxony. But the truth is, the Court of Vienna has been always willing to turn the odium of that business upon his Maj^ty, who, you may aver, had no hand in the seizure, while at the same time you may believe his release would be as unacceptable to his Maj^ty and the States as to the Emperour himself: which you are therefore to hinder privately as much as lyes in your power, without owning, at least to the Elector and his Court, that his Maj^ty or the States do any ways concern themselves with Schoning. I should have a great deal more to say on the subject of your negotiation, but Mr Schweinfurt assuring me he has all Sr W. Colt's papers ready for your perusall, I have a great work saved by it, and I fancy you will not want instructions in your business. However I send you a paper of Mr Ham's I happen to have by me on the same subject, which I pray you to return me when you have read or copied it. I am ever, etc. etc.,

W. B.

39.] RYCAUT TO STEPNEY (*Extract*).

Homberg, November 18th, 1693.

By this post I send you a letter from Mr Robinson, w^h will inform you that the affaires w^h we so much feared in Sweden have changed their face, and we are likely beyond all expectation to fall into a faire correspondence with that Crowne, of w^h you will understand more particularly from Mr Robinson's letter; and that the K. of Sweden, like a generous Prince, hath refused to receive Moreau in qualitie of Envoy from Poland, on the score of having beene accused for a conspirator against the life of our King, the which, as it puts an obligation on our side, so it will serve to reproach the Danes, who could not have passed an affront on his Matie in a more base and vile manner than this.

The following relations refer to a struggle for popularity between two preachers, Meyer and Horbius; which at one time so threatened the peace of Hamburg, that the foreign Ministers thought themselves obliged to interfere, to protect the public interests of the Allies.

Horbius (John Henry) was born in 1645 at Colmar, in Alsatia: he went into holy orders, and became in 1671 Inspector at Trarbach on the Moselle; in 1679, Superintendent at Winsheim in Franconia; and in 1685 Pastor of the Church of St. Nicholas in Hamburg. The book which caused the uproar described below was entitled 'Klugheit der Gerechten.' After his expulsion from Hamburg he retired to a country-house near the town, and died there in the year 1695.

40.] *A relation of the Sedition arisen amongst the Burgers and Commonalty of Hamburg, caused by a dissention between ye Parochiall Ministers of that Citty, wth the manner how ye same was decided.*

Tho' this Citty and Government be as quiet and peaceable as Commonwealths for the most part are, yet there hath risen of late a desturbance amongst the people, caused by one Horbius, Minister of the Parish of St Niclas, who pretended to great sanctity, and for any thing that I could learne of him his principle was that a man might attaine to perfection in this life; he was greatly followed by his parishioners, and especially by the devout women, who when he was laid up with the gout used to encompasse his couch and chaire, and he preached to them many holy and good doctrines, the which gained him so many proselytes that many of the rich burgers and cittizens became his disciples. This man had translated a little book out of French for the education and instruction of youth, in forme of a catechisme, w^h^ he dispersed

in the families of his parishioners. But this vogue of Horbius lasted not long, before Dr Meyer, a topping man in the pulpits, who was a proud but an eloquent preacher, disdaining that any should carry a greater sway than he, railed against Horbius in his pulpit, called him a Quaker, and setter forth of doctrines contrary to the tenets of Luther and the Augsburg Confession; and having gained the greatest number of the parochiall Ministers on his side, vehemently railed against him and his new doctrins (as he called them), by which meanes the sedition was perfectly formed amongst the people, so that in all places there was nothing but wrangling and blows, even amongst the merchants on the Exchange, and in drinking-houses amongst the rabble, using names of Jacobites and Quakers to distinguish each other, the first because Meyer was Minister of St Jacob's Church, and the other because they believe his doctrine to favour Quakerisme. In this manner the ferment grew so high amongst the people, that the Senate was forced to interpose with their authority therein, but with that caution and gentlenesse, that they proceeded rather as umpires and arbitrators than as magistrates with power to make a decision. At length the quarrel grew so high, that nothing could determine it but force and violence; wh when the Magistrates observed, knowing that both sides were very strong, and might raise a mutiny amongst the people, wh might vent itself upon them, they wisely persuaded the partys to have patience vntill the King of Denmark had the last summer withdrawne his forces into their countrey, it being not safe to nourish an intestine sedition within their Citty whilest their professed enemics remained before their gates with a strong army. This councell so prevailed that things remained something quiet vntill about a moneth past, when the comotion began more violent then ever, and so strong were both sides that the Government was too weake to make any decision, and therefore at length resolved to cast it upon the Bürgerey, that is the people, and supream Government of this Commonwealth; at length on the 23d inst. at noone, the great assembly mett, composed for the most part of all sorts

of handycrafts, tradesmen, without sence, manners, or learning, who, having banded the question with much noise and clamour, last night about midnight came to the most forcible argumẽnts, wh were blows, knocking one the other downe, with stooles and benches, and with what weapons came first to hand; but Meyer's party being the strongest, and consisting of all the rabble of that Assembly, gave sentence in their owne favour, wh was that Horbius should be deprived of his Living, and depart this Citty before Thursday the last of this moneth: and thus this great contest is ended for the present, but with such ill blood as will I feare break out, some time or other, with a more dangerous sedition.—November 24th, 1693.

41.] *Relation of what passed in the Differences of this Citty since my last of the* 16*th December.*

In my last, which was of the 16th instant, I advised that, by the authoritie of the Senate, joyned with that of the 180rs, a Placart was promulged, and affixed in all the publick places of this Citty, yt on Monday ye 18th of this moneth the Burgers should assemble in their respective parishes, that is severall places or halls, where the question sht regularly be putt, whether ye sentence wch the Burgery did lately give against Horbius in their confused meeting should be confirmed or reversed. This was thought the most exact way of decision by a pole, and the most quiet way to avoid clamours, and noise and blows; but the common people, or *mobile*, who when in a body have the supreame authority, would not consent to this Act of the Senate and the 180rs, but by the Ampters, who are the head of the severall companies, as smiths, taillors, barbers, shoemakers, and the like, being stirred up by Meyer, assembled on Fryday last in a publick hall, and thence sent to the Senate for deputies to come to them, which the Senate refused to doe, telling them that in case they had anything to represent it ought to be by petition, wh the Ampters would not accept, but on Saturday last came

into the Senate-house, the Senate then sitting, and boldly required of them to retract the proclamation they had issued forth the day or 2 before, whilest the rabble in the streets toare downe the placcarts, and trampled it with disdaine and indignation vnder their feet, the Senate making some demurre vpon the matter, saying that they could not doe it without the consent and concurrence of the 180rs; the Ampters told them that vntill they gave orders to pull downe the placart, & make it null & void, they resolved not to suffer them to goe out of the Senate, nor provisions to come in. This annunciation so frighted the Senate, that they immediately submitted, and before dinner gave orders to have the placart, which was pasted on a board hanging at the gate of the Senate-house, to be brought vp to them, which was according done, and held vp before the representing Ampters of the people, crying out, Behold this wicked instrument, which was framed with designe to deprive the people of their freedomes, rights, and priviledges; and then it was toaren in pieces, and the board trampled on and broaken, tid (? probably *and*) then the Senators were sett at liberty and permitted to returne to their owne houses. Thus have the common people gained their point vpon the Senate; in their power doth the Government remaine at present: and it is now said that it is agreed that the Burgers shall meet about the beginning of the next moneth in the Senate-house as usuall, and not in their respective parishes: and they talke of charging 2 pr ct upon all men's estates for carrying on the charges of the next yeare, whereas formerly one quart. was onely raised; & if now they should come to lay 2 pr ct, the rich merchds and men of estate would wholly suffer, & the meaner sort, who yet are governors, would pay little or nothing. All their disputes being now laid aside vntill the beginning of the next moneth, things seeme to be quiett, vnless the ministers from their pulpits warme the mutinous dispositions of the people.

42.] DE LA ROSIÈRE TO DE FALAISEAU.

December 12th, 1693.

Sir,

I will not delay any longer thanking you for all your civilities. I assure you that they have made a profound impression upon my heart, and I am grateful for them as I ought to be: that I should wish Fortune well if she would one day procure me the opportunity of showing how much I esteem and honour you. I entreat you, Sir, to be thoroughly persuaded of the sincerity of my feelings; difference of religion ought not to prevent us from rendering justice to merit. I only saw M. Moreau once during the whole time that I was at Copenhagen, and that was only *en passant*: I did not think that he did me the honour of remembering me,—I did not expect so much happiness. I am assured that he has written lately to people who can be of great service to me, and whom I am obliged to humour, and that he warns them to be extremely on their guard against me; that I am Huguenot at heart, and that I passed days together at Copenhagen in singing the praises of King William. He tells a thousand tales about this, which are as false as they are ridiculous. I know the respect which is due to a Minister like M. Moreau, and this makes me hold my tongue: I will only say, *en passant*, that I have little fear of calumny; I have the honour to be known intimately enough to those in whose opinion it has been attempted to ruin me, and I am assured that they will despise all the silly reports which can be made them. M. Moreau it appears is one of those people who think one cannot be a good Catholic without calling the Prince of Orange a usurper: these were not always his opinions. I am forgetting, Sir, that I am troubling you much too long about a trifle; I beg your pardon, and entreat you to be persuaded that I am, with all the respect and esteem in the world, Sir, etc. etc.,

DE LA ROSIÈRE.

At Elsinore, at the Stralsund Arms, this 12th of December

1693. I entreat you not to speak to anybody about what I have told you of M. Moreau.

MADAME DE ROCKLITZ.

The person referred to in the following letters under the title of "The Countess" was Magdalena Sybilla, of the House of Neitschütz, the mistress of John George IV., Elector of Saxony. She was well descended, her father being Rudolph von Neitschütz, Lord of Gaussig, Diemen, Arnsdorf, and Schlaugwitz, a Major-General and Colonel of the Life-Guard under the Elector John George III., and her mother Ursula Margaretha von Haugwitz, a profligate and depraved but high-born woman. Fräulein von Neitschütz was born February 8th, 1675, and was consequently but eighteen years old at this time, when she ruled the Elector despotically, and was the sole channel of influence at Dresden. She is said to have very early developed the qualities that fitted her for her bad eminence, and to have neither brought her virgin affections to the Elector, nor remained faithful to him during their connection. She appears to have been a woman of great beauty, but coarse features, and it would seem that education had done very little to refine her. Be this as it may, no sooner did John George come to his Electoral throne than she was installed as mistress *en titre*, and loaded with such favours as were the usual accompaniments of her bad position. The Elector presented her with various houses and estates, appointed her and the several members of her family to posts of profit and influence, both in the civil and military services, and disposed of everything by her advice and persuasion. There was no hope

of obtaining any favour from the Elector or his Ministry without interesting the mistress and her mother, and these sold their advocacy at a dear rate. Of this there is ample evidence in the proceedings which were taken against the mother after the deaths of the Elector and the Countess, and the accession of Frederick Augustus. Even William III., who laid great stress upon the including of Saxony in the grand Alliance, was obliged to condescend to the prevailing mode of proceeding, and bribe the women to secure the man. Sir William Colt had been sent to Dresden in January, 1692⅔, ostensibly to present the insignia of the Garter to the new Elector, but in reality to draw him to the side of the Allies, and prevent his uniting with Denmark, the Princes of Lüneburg, and other German Houses, in the formation of a third and neutral party in Europe. It is very likely that his inclination disposed him that way, and that he might have entered into the Alliance without the persuasions of the Countess; but it was thought advisable to enlist her upon the Protestant side, and she received large presents from all the Ministers of the Allied Courts. Sir W. Colt thus writes about her, on the 17th of January, 169⅔:—

"At night I was conducted by the Hanover Envoy to make a visit to the mistress and her mother, and he entreated me to give them the best words I could, full of commendations for the good offices they had done in keeping the Elector hitherto from acting against the Allies, and that if they did bring him absolutely over, they were sure all who were concerned would have a just sense of their great merits: and they both in return gave me all the assurances possible that they would do their utmost, and that they were not without hope of success. In this conjuncture the Elector came in, having

drunk very hard with the Count Staremberg, and in that humour had quarrelled with him, giving him very hard words, which, with all his prudence, he could not defend himself from: the Elector pressed to have proofs against Schöning, or to have him released; and the Count not being willing, or it may be not able to say much for himself in that condition, the Elector left the room. He showed when he was with us many marks of anger, which had been fatal to one of his pages if he had not nimbly escaped. He showed great civility to me; however I withdrew as soon as possibly I could. This, Sir, you will easily believe, was no little discouragement to me."

"I take the best measures I can with the Envoys of Brandenburg and Hanover, who both tell me there is nothing to be done but by the mistress, and they are soliciting at Vienna to have her made a Countess, and they are both earnest with me, as the new Elector and the Duke of Celle were before I came from thence, to recommend to his Majesty the necessity there is, that a sum be presently given the mistress amongst them all, and a promise of a yearly pension so long as the war shall last and that the Elector acts; and they propose five or six thousand dollars for his Majesty's share in money, and proportionable for the pension. Monsieur Heckeren tells me also, that though he hath not positive orders from the States, yet in such urgent occasion he will consent to give a reasonable part for his masters. All which makes me humbly beg that I may have full orders what to do: for without this be done, there is not the least hopes of any success here; nor then neither, unless some satisfaction be given the Elector about Schöning."

Three days afterwards he writes thus:—"In this instant the Baron van Heckeren is come into my room, and I have acquainted him with all that hath passed, and how much this affair depends upon our maintaining the interest in the young lady I have mentioned, as also what had been proposed to present her, and he tells me that he knows the King's mind, what must be done to gratify the Ministers and such as shall be useful in this affair, which I much rejoice at, for that we have no time to lose; and he desires me to add in my letters to my Lord Nottingham, my Lord Portland, and yourself, that we will spare the King's purse all we can in this conjuncture, which is the more pressing, because at Wolfenbüttel they have refused the project of guarantee proposed; besides here is one Jourdain from Count Bielk, and Haxthausen from Denmark, that offers greater sums than are demanded; and the securing this Elector will not only weaken the designs for a third party, but very much hinder the projects of Sweden and Denmark."*

A fortnight afterwards he writes in the same strain:—"I observe that the Elector's inclinations lead him to the party of the Allies, if he be not hindered by others; and by my conversing with him I find a man of much better parts than I expected, so that if time do fix him a little more, there may be hopes of good service from him, and nothing can be a greater advantage to him than if he comes to the army, to keep company with his equals, and to see how they live, for he takes great notice of all things; but possibly after all he may choose himself to stay at home, for he is lost in his love, and she being young with child he will hardly leave her, and to take her with him he will, if she be able to bear the fatigue.†

* January 20th, 169⅔, O. S. † January 31st, 169⅔, O. S.

"There must be a yearly present on which they may depend, and that will be also our future security; besides there must be money given to three or four Ministers who will be ordered to treat with us. The Emperor hath consented to give the honour desired by the lady, and we have all desired it may not be despatched till all things were sure; and you may be sure that I will consent to no money till I am as sure."*

Bülau, upon Robethon's authority, declares that she received upwards of forty thousand thalers from England, which is probably exaggerated, but still one sees that considerable sums were devoted to secure her services.

No one could be more disturbed by her son's connection with the Neitschütz family than the Electress Dowager, Anne Sophie, a Princess of Denmark; and this lady thought that a legitimate marriage with a Princess would perhaps avail to detach her son from his Siren. Political grounds were also there for an alliance with Brandenburg; and early in 1692 (April 17th) John George gave his hand to Eleonore Erdmuthe Luise of Saxe-Eisenach, the relict of Margrave John Frederick of Anspach. It was now the common belief that Fräulein von Neitschütz would be sent about her business with a pension of 4000 thalers a year; but all expectations of this kind were speedily put an end to: the wife, who seems never to have been very attractive, was not very young (she was born April, 1662, so that she was thirty years old), and had the old passionate attachment of her husband for another to contend with, proved no match for the mistress; and the latter, instead of sinking, rose only the more triumphant through the marriage which

* Cipher, February 3rd, 169¾, O. S.

was meant to be her ruin. It was not unusual, however shocking to morality and however disgusting it may now appear, for the favourites of reigning princes to be promoted into the highest ranks of German nobility; a thing perfectly inexcusable, inasmuch as it was, through the constitution of the German Empire, the Act of the Emperor and the Aulic Council, not that of the particular sovereign, whose passion might be pleaded as an excuse for acts which degraded the whole peerage. It was determined to raise Fräulein von Neitschütz to the rank of Reichsgräfin, or Countess, in her own right, with remainder to the heirs of her body, and their heirs, lawfully begotten. We have reason to believe that this favour was part of the price paid for her adherence to the Alliance, and that the interests of the Countess in this respect were represented at Vienna by other Ministers than those of the Elector. The dignity, which was intended at a later period to pave the way for a higher promotion, was solemnly granted in February, 1693, and the new Countess, entitled Rocklitz, was put in possession of all advantages which such a dignity so earned could convey. Her own pregnancy at this time seemed absolutely to secure her power, especially as the unfortunate Electress was by an accident deprived of the hope she had of giving an heir to the Electorate. The following passage from a letter of Sir W. Colt has reference to these transactions:—"I hope soon to send you better news, there being but one thing that lies heavy on my heart, and that is, when we have done all we can, and that in appearance we have what we desire, then I doubt that we cannot be sure one day of this Elector, but that he will have new things put into his head; for I never in my life have seen so fickle a man, which makes me

long to see the end of this business, that I may return to my post; and all the intimacy I have gained with him hath been by the grossest flattery imaginable; and for giving money to the lady never fear me, before all things are concluded to his Majesty's satisfaction; and that affair alone will bring me into friendship with her and the Ministry, for without such assistance none of the Envoys could do any great service at this conjuncture; the proofs I have are many."* "The Electress hath miscarried of a son."†

The Countess however did her share of the bargain conscientiously. On the 17th of February Colt could give the news that the Alliance with the Emperor Leopold was signed, and that the Elector, in consideration of a subsidy of four hundred thousand thalers, would give the services of twelve thousand men against the French for the term of one year, viz. February 1st, 169$\frac{2}{3}$. The main object which now remained was to convert this provisional treaty into a permanent one, to be in force as long as the war should last, and for this the Countess must be kept in good humour. It was therefore proposed to give her a pension, to which all the members of the Alliance should contribute in due proportions. On the 17th of February, 169$\frac{2}{3}$, Colt writes: "Now I have not told any man what present I had liberty to make the lady, though often asked by Baron Heckeren, any further than I mentioned to have been asked me; and that he proposes to me to be 6000 dollars in banco, which will amount to £1500 sterling, and so I shall save his Majesty £500 of what you allowed me, to which he will join 4000 dollars; and so soon as I know what the others will contribute, you shall be sure to have the

* Cipher, February 14th, 169$\frac{2}{3}$, O. S. † *Ibid.*

particulars: and indeed much is due to the lady, and she will be gratified by the Emperor in the honour which the Elector desires for her and her heirs, and the appearances of the latter are very visible." On the 10th of May the Electorate definitively joined the Grand Alliance. The Elector, a young and ambitious Prince, took the field at the head of his own contingent, and served with distinction on the Rhine. He was present with the troops of the Landgrave in the battle of Zwingenberg, and afterwards joined Prince Louis's army in the fortified camp of Flein. The Countess accompanied the Elector on this expedition, and it was during it that she bore him a daughter, born at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, whose godfather and godmother were William and Mary of Orange, and who received from them the names of Wilhelmine Marie Frederike. This child of a scandalous commerce was held at the font by the English Resident, the Duke of Saxony, Frederick Augustus, afterwards King of Poland, and the Countess's own mother,—no very pleasing evidence of social and political morality at the close of the seventeenth century.

The ambition of the House of Neitschütz was however not yet satisfied. The Emperor was tormented to give the Countess a yet higher title, and introduce her into the College of Princes. It seems to have been even hinted to him, that if this were granted she would adopt the Catholic faith, and would bring over the Elector to the same; but Leopold would not hear of it, and is said to have answered roughly to some such question, "What! Princess!—what! Princess! Saxony has Princess enough in his admirable wife!" There is some probability in the story of the intended conversion, for in 1693 the Countess and the Lutheran clergy had a serious quarrel,

arising out of their refusal to give her absolution, which filled Sir W. Colt with apprehensions of a serious result. Bülau even hints that at this time the Countess contemplated this change of religion as a preliminary step to the election of John George as King of Poland, which his brother afterwards became; and that she hoped to share this royal station as his wife. Most unquestionably this was the point she aimed at, and it is obscurely glanced at in the following passage of a letter from Sir W. Colt, of March 10th, 1693, O. S.:—"Here hath happened such a disorder that I doubt the ablest among them does not know where it will end: the Elector going into the country last week, as I have mentioned, the new Countess stayed here two days for her devotions; both the Court divines would not give her absolution, which the Elector hearing, he came in great haste privately to town, and sent for M. Knock to her house, commanding him to use authority with the ministers, and that they should not make now more scrúples than they had done at other times. But they say the case is altered, for that she will not own herself guilty of any crime. This makes some apprehend strange consequences. M. Knock excused himself as being no longer President of the Consistory, which place he hath lately resigned, possibly foreseeing what had happened; but the Elector not admitting of his reasons, he complied, and the Elector returned to the country; yet the two ministers would not be persuaded by him either, but a third was found, who performed the office: however, the Countess missing the Elector, or staying something longer than he expected, orders were sent to put M. Knock and the two ministers in arrest, but her prayers soon released them again. I fear M. Knock will quit

the service, and I am sorry for it; for he is really a man of worth, and his quitting will make the more noise in this affair; and I have many apprehensions lest what I have heard may be true, and that there is a design to persuade the councillors to consent to a marriage of conscience, as they call it, with the left hand, though some say such a thing may have been done already, before that of the right, and that will be a great affliction to the Electress, and when this will end God knows."

The truth is that there were three plans, all of which would more or less suit her purpose, and in all of which her family seem to have been mixed up. The first was to bring about a divorce between the Elector and his wife; the next to marry the Elector with the left hand, supposing his Council of State could be got to agree to that act of bigamy; and, lastly, to set up a claim prior to that of the Electress herself, to be married morganatically to the Elector. That the first plan was never lost sight of appears likely enough, from the continued coldness and neglect with which the Electress was treated by her husband, and which was in great measure attributed to the direct influence of the Countess. A separation, if not a divorce, was frequently the subject of Court gossip at Dresden; and the intention of bringing one to pass was laid to the charge of the Countess's mother after the death of the Elector, but it is a charge that cannot well be proved, however probable; nor is it at all clear that a separation would have answered all the views of the women, even if it could have been obtained. So it was determined to try another plan, and various works were published, with the intention of proving the lawfulness of polygamy in the case of Princes, and fami-

liarizing the Consistory and Council of State with the idea of a double marriage. It was hoped that in this way they might by degrees be brought to consent to the morganatic union at least, which was to ease the conscience of the virtuous but unfortunate mistress; and if this should entirely fail, as it seemed likely to do, means were devised to give the Countess the rights and station of a wife at the expense of the Electress herself: in a word, a marriage contract was framed with a date earlier than that of the Electress's marriage, so that if there were to be only one wife, the Countess might at least be able to prove that she had the prior claim. A copy of this extraordinary document was produced during the inquiry in the reign of Frederick Augustus; it is dated October 16th, 1691; and in it the Elector declares, that although no formal marriage had taken place between himself and the Countess, but only a mutual promise before witnesses, he still acknowledged and held this to be a valid and true marriage, inasmuch as the usual ceremony was only "an addition of this church," and what they had gone through was equivalent to it. He nevertheless declares, that, although the children which may result from this marriage are lawfully born and legitimate, yet, to avoid difficulties in the Electoral House, they shall be and remain excluded from all rights, claims, and pretensions to the Electorate or the lands; but shall content themselves with the title of Counts, and such provision as he would make for them, which he engages shall be honourable and sufficient. In this very strange declaration he further announces his intention of taking to himself a wife of equal rank with his own, who is to bear the title of Electress, and whose children are to succeed in the Electorate.

The elder Neitschütz at a later period confessed that this document had been drawn up in 1693, but antedated, with the object already noticed. If this be true, we can only say that the document was skilfully forged for its purpose, for the internal evidence of its being really of the date it bears is very strong. On the other hand, it appears from Sir W. Colt's letter that the lady took different ground in 1693 from what she had been used to, and declared that there was nothing sinful in her connection with the Elector, a thing which, as the Ambassador properly observes, made some apprehend strange consequences. It is possible that the declaration of the Elector, that he considered the Countess his lawful wife, may have given her the excuse that she was not living in sin; and if this document was drawn up in 1693, this would be the intelligible effect of it: but if it really had been signed in 1691, as it pretended upon the face of it, the Countess might and would all along have declared that her connection with the Elector was an innocent one, inasmuch as she was his lawful wife. In fact it still remains totally uncertain whether the ceremony of marrying her with the left hand may not have been gone through about this time; some sort of excuse, one would imagine, would be required before William and Mary consented to be sponsors for a child whose birth was equivocal; and subsequent events show that the Countess was treated with honours which belong only to royal persons. However, in the midst of her triumph and glory, the end was near. After her return from the Rhine, in 1693, she was seized with illness, which before March, 1694, had assumed a threatening form. In that month the smallpox declared itself, and, not having been properly treated, soon became fatal.

The Countess of Rocklitz died on the 4th of April in that year, in the twentieth year of her age, and shortly dragged the Elector with her into the grave.

The funeral of the Countess of Rocklitz was conducted with royal pomp and magnificence. The body, attended by heralds and chamberlains, lay in state, great candles burnt around it, armorial bearings decked the chamber where it was placed in full dress and in an open coffin; and all the city, all the authorities, civil and military, were mustered to convey it to the grave with honour. As the solemn procession, formed of the Electoral family and the relatives of the deceased, with all their household dependants carrying flambeaux, passed between the long lines of assembled citizens, these presented arms to the hearse; and finally, in the church of St. Sophia, the remains of Magdalena Sybilla were lowered into the royal vault, in which the coffins of many members of the Electoral House already rested.

But death had already stricken a more lofty victim. During the illness of the Countess the Elector had refused to stir from her side; he would hardly quit her rooms for a moment, and persisted even in taking his meals with her. In vain did his medical attendants and councillors warn him of the danger he ran, for he had never had the smallpox, which at that period was—death. The Elector was deaf to advice, but the anticipations of his advisers were fulfilled. He took the disorder, and, after an illness of twenty days, followed the being whom he had loved with so extravagant a passion. John George IV. died April 24th, 1694, in his twenty-sixth year, and was succeeded by his brother Frederick Augustus, afterwards King of Poland.

With him sank the star of the House of Neitschütz.

Desire of revenge for slights endured in the day of their prosperity, perhaps even the more vulgar hope of pillage, raised up a host of enemies, who clamorously called for an inquiry into the conduct of the elder Neitschütz, and various members of her household. As usual in that day, the inquiry turned mostly upon matters of witchcraft and poisoning. It was believed that the mother and daughter had subdued the mind of the Elector by means of philtres and charms, and it was proved that they had tried to do so; but the mother was also accused of having shortened the former Elector's life, John George III., by roasting a waxen image,—which was ridiculous, it being her interest that he should live, and not die, her husband standing on a good footing with him. There can be no doubt that, like many other frivolous, ignorant, superstitious women, and like nine-tenths of the women of their time, they both believed in the efficacy of all kinds of spells, and had busied themselves with all the filthy details of their preparation; and as the instruments of these nasty rites were mostly women of low condition and vulgar breeding, a very considerable train of very disreputable witnesses was got together to criminate the old Frau von Neitschütz. There was more reason perhaps in the charge made against her of having acted the part of procuress to her daughter, although this young lady's precocious development may perhaps induce us to pause even here upon her guilt. That which might best have been brought home to her was the peculation and robbery she had dealt in wholesale, the bribes she had taken, the gifts she had extorted from individuals and corporations, the funds she had diverted from their proper ends to swell her own coffers; but these were all made subsidiary

questions to the great one of witchcraft, and on this it was determined that she should be examined by torture.

Meanwhile the corpse, which had been deposited with so much ceremony in the princely vault of the Sophien Kirche, had been dug up, and searched for evidences of witchcraft. A bracelet of the Elector's hair, and a little *sachet* or two, worn after the superstitious fashion of that time as amulets, were discovered, and taken as proof that the Countess had dragged the Elector after her to the grave. The body was accordingly removed, and reburied in unconsecrated ground. There is some uncertainty how far the mother was really and seriously pursued upon the charges noticed above. If she really ever were subjected to the torture, it is remarkable that she should escape with life, a result which was very rare under the old German system of trial for witchcraft; for as it was firmly believed that the evil one himself steeled the witch against pain, it became a point of honour with the examining judges to confound the foul fiend by redoubled energies, and they generally racked, and screwed, and tore, till even the most innocent preferred to make a confession, which invariably consigned them to the flames, to bearing in vain the agonies inflicted. All that is certain is that after a time Madame de Neitschütz was released from prison, and retired to a house belonging to her family at Gaussig, where she died, in 1713, in her sixty-third year.

The best account of the Countess of Rocklitz is given by Bülau in his 'Geheime Geschichten,' vol. iii., from which the greater part of what precedes is abridged and adapted.

43.] STEPNEY TO LEIBNITZ.

Dresden, December 29th, 1693.

Sir,

I received the other day the letter which you have done me the honour to write to me, from which I see that you have not entirely forgotten me, although it is a long time since you heard from me. I have often wished to write, in order to keep up your friendship, which I esteem so highly; but I have always put it off till I should have something of consequence to tell you, or till I should know with certainty what my own fate was to be. It is now nearly four months that I am here, where I did not think I should remain so long; but I foresee now that I may be here still till Easter, and then return to Vienna. I thank you very humbly for the good wishes you express for me; be assured, Sir, that one of the greatest pleasures I can have is to know that I continue to be honoured by your friendship.

The New Year, which begins next Monday, gives me a good occasion to renew my vows for your prosperity. We cannot assuredly regret too much the loss which we have had in M. le Comte de Strattman and M. le Président de Grote; and I readily agree with you that it will be no easy thing to find two other men of their worth. You throw me into confusion when you tell me that a man of letters, who publishes dialogues every month, has put into them the Epigram which I made in praise of Madame the Electress of Brandenburg: it is a *jeu d'esprit* which I should never have dared to communicate to any but a friend like yourself.

I have despatched your letter to M. de Connsbruck, to whom I have also done myself the honour to write, having so excellent an occasion as that which you have furnished me. As for our news here, I can tell you that the pregnancy of Madame the Electress has turned out imaginary,—*parturiunt montes*, etc.,—which has terribly annoyed this good Princess, and all those of her party. Now is the time, more than ever, when the Countess triumphs; and as a proof of it, they

are getting apartments ready for her in the château. Mr. Neudsch, her brother, will start without delay for Hanover, where they say he is going to marry your beautiful Miss Winzinroth. Duke Frederick has gone post to Venice, to amuse himself there during the Carnival. The Elector will start tomorrow for Torgow, and from thence to the fair at Leipzig. Baron Hoym, President of the Chamber, having been accused of malversation, was put under arrest a day or two ago: it is believed that he will not get out of the cage without its costing him a few feathers, or perhaps a whole wing. At this moment General Schöning is probably on his road from Brünn to Vienna, where the Emperor has ordered him to be brought: we are assured that he will be set fully at liberty, but some say that he will change his creed; however this may be, it is probable that he will not come back here. I am, Sir, with passion, etc. etc.,

G. Stepney.

44.] Danckelmann to De Falaiseau.

London, January $\frac{12}{22}$, 1694.

Sir,

I arrived here ten days ago in the same ship with his Highness Prince Louis of Baden, having been six weeks on the road between the Hague and this place; as I suffered excessively during my sojourn on the waters, I required some time to get right again before setting in earnest to business. Now, having found on my arrival here yours of the $\frac{5}{15}$th of December, 1693, with which you were pleased to honour me, and the contents of it had been communicated by M. Bonnet in my absence to Mr. Secretary Trenchard, I was desirous before I answered you of ascertaining, both from his Majesty himself and from my Lord Portland, what people thought here of the project for a peace put forth by France. Well, Sir, I will tell you, that it is his Majesty's opinion that a counter-project ought to be agreed to, on the part of the Allies, in order to escape the blame which might be thrown

upon them, and principally on the King of Great Britain, that one does not want any peace at all, which might stir up ill-will among the Dutch and some others of the Allies. The said project is to be framed, as I believe, after the provisions of the treaties of Münster and the Pyrenees. The King desires that our most Serene Master should draw up the project, and send it to him as speedily as possible, of which I shall inform his E. H. by this ordinary, and which you will humour, if you please, Sir, till the overture shall be made to you by our Court. I do not know if you have received a communication of the Protocol of a Conference which the Powers now in arms in Germany have held at Vienna in my brother's house, respecting the preparations for this year's campaign on the Upper and Lower Rhine. I opened this yesterday to his Majesty and to Prince Louis of Baden, both of whom were extremely well satisfied with it, if it be only carried into effect early enough; and the second all the more, because they had taken his own project as the model for their plan. Well, Sir, you must know that this plan amounts to a hundred thousand men,—seventy-five thousand Foot and twenty-five thousand Horse,—and that they have got as far with the distribution as ninety-four thousand, and that they have settled for the pay of a thousand Horse a hundred thousand crowns, and for as many Foot a hundred thousand German florins, and made a project to find this money, easy enough if they set about it in the right way. The distribution consists in this,—that the Elector of Bavaria and the Circle shall furnish eight thousand, the two Circles of Franconia and Suabia twenty-four thousand, the Emperor eight thousand, the Elector Palatine three thousand, the Landgrave of Hesse with the Circle of the Upper Rhine seven thousand, the Elector of Mayence one thousand, which shall be employed upon the Upper Rhine; and as for the army of the Lower Rhine it is to be made up of a thousand furnished by the Elector of Treves, the Elector of Cologne two thousand, the Elector Palatine two thousand, the Elector of Saxony twelve thousand, the Elector of Brandenburg twelve thousand, the

House of Brunswick-Lüneburg eight thousand, and the Bishop of Münster six thousand. Here are two fine armies on paper, which no doubt would make France crumble, if they really took the field early with all that they ought to have. M. de Schele* asked me yesterday if I had no orders to work at an arrangement between the Allies and the King his master, and showed me at the same time the copy of a rescript of our most Serene Master, dated $\frac{8}{18}$th of December, 1693. I answered him that I had been at work upon that for four years, with his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and with Lords Portland and Nottingham, and that I had received the same rescript as M. de Schmettau: but that the state of affairs having been put upon another footing by the embargo which his Majesty of Denmark had placed upon the Dutch merchantmen, we must first try to get rid of this difficulty. He answered me, that as soon as those of Zealand should have effectively released the few ships which still remained in their hands, the King his master would first take off the embargo upon the Dutch vessels, and begged me to speak about it myself to the King and Lord Portland; at the same time he placed in my hands the Protocol of the 27th of December held at his Majesty's Council, upon the projects which my Lord Lexington and M. Hoppe had put forth, and said that his Majesty, his master, was ready to take up the Treaty again, whenever they chose to send Ministers for that purpose. I promised to speak to the King about it, which I shall do, please God, tomorrow, not having been able to do it today on account of the post. You shall know the result by the first ordinary: in the meanwhile, I am ever, Sir, etc. etc.,

T. E. W. DANCKELMANN.

45.] RYCAUT TO STEPNEY.

Hamburg, January 20th, 169$\frac{3}{4}$.

Sir,

My last to you was of the 13th instant, since w^{h} I have

* The Danish Envoy.

received none from you. On Thursday last the Burgery assembled another time at the Senate hous in very great numbers: when the Senate sent to let them know, That the occasion of calling them together was to desire them to consider of wayes how to raise mony to pay the souldiers of the garrison, now 10 months in arreare, as also to pay the remaining part of $\frac{m}{80}$ dollars to the Elector of Brandenburg for the last yeare's assignment, of w^{h} no more than $\frac{m}{20}$ had as yet beene advanced. But the Burgery tooke little notice hereof, and made answer, That they were come together to dispatch the businesse of the Ministerium, whereby peace and tranquillitie might be restored to the city, and that they would see that done before they proceeded to any other affaire; upon w^{h} answer, the Senate sent to adiourn them vntill the following Thursday. But neither party would take notice hereof, nor would they separate; untill the Meyerists, observing their party weaker than the Horbians, begann to slink away, and called to have the door opened; but all was shut; and then for divertisement, or to passe their time, the scuffle begunne, throwing pots and canns, stooles and benches, & what came next to hand, at each other's heads, after their usuall way of arguing and voting; & so continued untill the people in the street, at their cryes to let them out, broake open the doores, and then they came tumbling out one on the other, with bloudy noses & broaken pates, and some, as is reported, in a worse condition. And so the dispute is deferred untill the next Thursday, when we may expect a more dangerous engagement, for the ferment is now arisen to the highest degree, and they talk of nothing more than to use force against force, & to recall Horbius in despight of the adverse party. As yet the letters from the Northerne countries are not come in, so that I have not farther to adde but that I am, etc. etc.,

PAUL RYCAUT.

46.] STEPNEY TO LEIBNITZ.

Dresden, April $\frac{4}{14}$, 1694.

Sir,

I am quite ashamed when I reflect that I owe an answer to three of your letters, and to be obliged to tell you that I have not even yet time to discharge this duty towards you; but I will not fail to do it as soon as I possibly can. In the meantime I wish to take the opportunity of your Hofrath's journey to thank you for the little book which you have sent me, which is assuredly very necessary in the conjuncture in which we are; and would to God that all the Princes of the Empire would follow the salutary advice which they will find in it: I have sent it with your letter to M. de Connsbruck. I have only one word of news to tell you, but it is news of consequence: the Countess of Rocklitz has been attacked with smallpox. Hopes were held out that she would soon get out of it, without even being marked; nevertheless, in their anxiety to save her face, they drove the sickness back into her body, and thereby reduced her to so miserable a state that she was speechless for more than twenty-four hours, and died this morning. Although the Elector has never had the smallpox, he would not refrain from visiting his mistress very often, and even from eating with her. I leave you to judge, Sir, from this mark of tenderness, how deeply he must be touched by her loss. We shall soon see whether he will be able to get the better of so violent a passion, and if in consequence this accident may turn out favourably for Madame the Electress (who set out the day before yesterday for Bretzenau, the estate which has been settled upon her in dower), or whether the Prince will find some other person to amuse himself with. This, Sir, is all I have to tell you at present. I am, Sir, with much esteem and passion, etc. etc.,

G. STEPNEY.

47.] DANCKELMANN TO DE FALAISEAU.

Vienna, September 8th, 1694.

Sir,

I hope that you will be kind enough to lay it to my absence, as well as to the inconvenience which I have suffered by not being able to go out, that I have failed to answer the letter you were pleased to write me on the $\frac{5}{15}$ of July. It is only three days ago that I was allowed to go out, and having since that visited the Ministers, they gave me to understand that they had for some time wished for my presence, Count Kielmansegge having referred in one of his relations, which had given satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty, to what I should be able to relate more circumstantially touching the good disposition of the Court of Denmark towards the Allies; but that by the next ordinary they had perceived that his Majesty the King of Denmark had another object in view, and that instead of declaring for the Allies he wanted to be one of the mediators; that these two proposals had been found very contradictory, and that there appeared to be much inconsistency in the proceedings of that Court: that they had had reason to flatter themselves that the aforesaid dispositions of the Court of Denmark were to be relied on, because that Crown might for some time past have observed how little care France made of it: that they had had from a sure hand what the King of France had commanded Comte d'Avaux, that he was to omit nothing which might persuade Sweden of the confidence he had in its proceedings and the gratitude which the King felt for all the steps which that Court had taken to arrive at a good peace, and that even if that Crown could not at this moment feel the effects of his gratitude, it would feel them as soon as peace was made, or made upon the footing of the instructions which he, D'Avaux, had to that effect: that as for the Minister of Denmark at that Court, D'Avaux was to give him good words, and try to turn aside every occasion of any jealousy: that D'Avaux had answered that M. de Lundorf was totally without suspicion, and he was sure that

he gave him the best character at Copenhagen of being much in the interests of Denmark: that M. de Bonrepos had reported to his master that he need not give himself any anxiety about Denmark: that the King, as well as the greater part of his ministry, were attached to the interests of France, and that all the advances of this Court for the advantage of the Allies were nothing but grimaces; that nevertheless they were assured that France did not wish Denmark to have any share in the mediation: that the interview which M. Meyerkron had had with De Croissy on this subject proved evidently that it was her desire to exclude Denmark from it: that all these reasons had persuaded the Court here that Count Königseggc's report was true, and that upon that basis a negotiation might have been entered upon; but that when a few days after they had seen the sudden change, that they had had reason to judge otherwise of the conduct of the Court of Denmark. Although upon this side they could not imagine that the King of Denmark would find his account with France any more than in the pretended mediation; and that if that was true which Count Königsegge had advanced, namely that the Treaty between Denmark and Sweden for the maintenance of commerce was on the point of expiring, all people of sense must agree that Denmark could never make a grander hit than by ranging itself on the side of the Allies, and embracing the party that was beginning to make use of its strength; for if peace should be made without Denmark, as there might be some probability of its being, Sweden would stand in a position of considerable advantage, and Denmark, suspected of having secret dealings with France, would find some one to speak to, especially having made enemies both by land and sea; whereas, on the contrary, if it should range itself on the side of the Allies, and that on advantageous terms, Sweden with its mediation would make but little figure, and the public security would be re-established, so to say, to the glory of Denmark. To this they added, that other powers, having such an occasion as this in their hands, would perhaps be willing to give as much as the Court of Denmark asked to

get, for the opportunity of making friends, of establishing its reputation with so much *éclat*, and to subvert the measures of those who seemed to have great advantages over that Crown. I am persuaded, Sir, of the truth of what has here been advanced, and it seems to me that this Court would have cried, "Done!" to the proposal of the $\frac{4}{14}$th of July, touching the million of crowns to be taken up at Amsterdam under the guarantee of the Emperor and his Allies; but looking at matters *prout jacent*, I do not think that it will ever be brought to pass, and all the negotiations will end in nothing. I was compelled, by order, to communicate your relation of the aforesaid date to one of the Ministers; I cannot believe that they will take your sending it ill of you at Copenhagen, for, perhaps, if the Mediation be hung up, we may still be able to negotiate upon this foundation; for even supposing M. de Plesse to succeed in the quarter to which he is gone, which however is much doubted, the difficulty here would remain much greater than they think, on account of the proposals which were made to you in the conference. I am, Sir, etc.,

W. D. DANCKELMANN.

48.] STEPNEY TO LEIBNITZ.

The Hague, October $\frac{14}{24}$, 1694.

Sir,

I write this note to you in a hurry, to tell you that on my arrival here yesterday I found your letter of the $\frac{4}{14}$th, as also that which it has pleased Madame the Electress to send me for the Queen. I entreat you, Sir, to assure our generous Princess of my most humble obedience, and that I shall all my life long retain a perfect gratitude for the favours with which she has honoured me.

I made my bow to the King at Loo, where he did not choose to tell me positively whether he will permit me to cross the sea with him or not: I shall attack him again this evening when he comes back here; and if I do cross over to

England, as I flatter myself, I will not fail to execute all you want from Mr. Rymer. As soon as I know my fate I will write to you again before I start, in order to know whether you have any other commands for me in London, and, wherever I am, I shall ever remain with passion, etc. etc.,

G. STEPNEY.

49.] BRIDGES TO LEIBNITZ.

London, January 4th, 1695.

Sir,

After having received so obliging a letter as that which you lately did me the honour to write to me, you would be very well justified in taking ill the silence which I have been obliged to keep so long; but as I know that your store of goodness is as inexhaustible as that of your knowledge, I do not despair of obtaining your forgiveness when I tell you that the country to which my father had confined me after my return, by taking off the means, prevented me from rendering you my very humble service, as it was my duty to do. The death of the Queen* has taken all the world by surprise, and causes great grief to those who passionately desire the prosperity of this kingdom; but the care and watchfulness of the King and Parliament are so great, that they will soon remove all the reason we have to fear ill consequences from it. Great pains are taken to bring about a reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Denmark; but, as if it was a general peace, all the steps are taken with so many precautions and so slowly, that we have no great reason to expect a happy issue to them. Mr. Halley begs me to let you know how much obliged he feels by the honour of your remembrance, and to tell you that the wars, among other reasons, have made his projected voyage so difficult and dangerous, that he has thought fit to put it off till the peace shall bring him a better opportunity. Mr. Newton is at present well, and has

* Queen Mary.

been informed by Mr. Halley of the happiness he enjoys of being held in so high esteem by a person of your merit. I have spoken to Dr. Smith, who still keeps himself locked up in Sir R. Cotton's library, about the pieces which you request me to send you, and he has promised to give himself the pleasure of satisfying you fully in all things himself. I entreat you to make my *baisemains* to all my friends, to continue me the honour of your friendship, and to believe that I shall never cease to be, with all sincerity and respect, etc. etc.,

T. BRYDGES.

P.S.—I have made so bold to make use of the address of M. Berry, their Highness's Envoy; I hope you will have the goodness to make my excuses to him. I am at present at my brother-in-law Jacob's, in Love-lane, near Aldermanbury Church. I beg you to send the enclosed to Mr. Candor.

50.] STEPNEY TO BLATHWAYT.

Wesel, February $\frac{11}{21}$, $169\frac{4}{5}$.

Honourable Sir,

I acquainted you how tedious a stay wee had at the Nower; At last (on the 31st of Jan.) wee had a wind wh carryed us down to Margett in one tyde; yt very night wee put to sea, and landed at Ostend the next day afternoon, as I suppose you may have heard sooner from Captain Price, from whom I received great civillities.

Since I landed, I have with the best diligence I cou'd, run thro' the several Garnisons, Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Bois le Duc, Grave, and so to Cleves, without falling into the hands of French Partys or Spanish troopers; and yesterday I crossed the Rhine at Xanten over the ice, and gott safe hither, tho' not without great difficulty: But as I am sensible my business requires diligence, I am resolved to lose no time.

Assoon as I shall have closed this letter I jogg on to Ham, wh is ye road to Cassell, (& yt I find is ye nearest way to Saxony,)

where I mean to make no longer stay, than may be necessary to provide fresh horses, and that time I propose to spend in private conversation with Baron Goertz, upon ye new heads of my instructions; & shall entreat him to make excuses for me to His Highness that I have not at present the honour of seeing him, being to look after ye Lost Sheep, which is conformable to the Directions you gave me while I lay at ye Nower.

You will be pleased to remember, Sir, I ask'd your opinion if it were requisite that I should have any formall audience, either at the Court of Saxony or Hesse, notifying the Queen's death; or if you judg'd His Ma^ty's^ circular Letter were sufficient on this occasion; which you thought it was, and I shall govern myself accordingly, as soon as I gett to Dresden, by going to Court familiarly (as I used to do) upon the strength of my old credentialls: and when I come to speak with the Elector, I shall only *en passant* touch a word or two on this melancholy subject, and not ask a particular audience, w^h^ (to keep up to the Ceremony) I should have in a long mourning cloak, and this would constrain ye Elect^r^ and his Court to the same uneasy formality; w^h^ (I know) they are not pleas'd with; besides, after almost two months that the Queen has been dead, I presume such ceremony will be a little out of season. However I cannot but take notice, that in ye Dutch Courant I find mention made of Col^l^ Tettau, who they say is going to England with a compliment of condoleance from the Landgraff of Hesse, and is gott already to the Hague in his way thither; And I was told at Cleves that their letters from Berlin say Monsr Fuchs is preparing an equipage, in order to go for England upon the same errand: Perhaps other Princes may do the same, out of their great esteem to his Ma^ty^, and in consideration that the Queen was joint Souveraign and had her share in the Administration of the Government: which makes me sometimes think wee have been too frugall in not sending particular messages of notification, which might justify these returns of condoleance. But I find I am gott out of my Road, and therefore 't is time I leave the ceremoniall

parts to such as understand it better. Perhaps the Elect^r of Brandenburgh, and Landgraff of Hesse, who are ye only Princes of ye Reform'd religion (that I know of) who have young daughters to recommend, may have private ends in this extraordinary civillity. As yet ('t is true) the prospect is too distant, because the wound is too fresh to admitt of so suddain a remedy; But because I find working heads, both on this side and in England, are running on such projects, I shall venture to tell you plainly my thoughts on the matter, hoping they will go no further, and begging your excuse for the Digression. I am perswaded the Elector of Brandenburgh will be very urgent for his only Daughter, tho I may boldly assure you she is not the thing wee want; for she is little, lean, childish, frettfull, and of no manner of education; besides she seems to be of so infirme a constitution, that I do not think it possible she shou'd euer answer the great end of matrimony. All I have heard hitherto of the Princesse of Hesse, bears a quite different character; but I shall not venture to speak of her till I have had the honour of seeing and conversing with her. Hereafter, when you shall happen to discover any glimpse one way or other, the least timely hint wou'd be an infinite obligation.

I have heard from Sir W. Gore that he has orders to remitt the 33,333 R.,* and I expect at my arrivall at Leipsig to find letters from Mr Stratford, that the money lyes ready there; which will come very seasonable; for I perceive they have been troublesome even to Mr Ham, because of my long absence; that having (as they imagine) retarded the payment.

What letters you shall please to honour me with may be sent either to Mr Prior, or to Monsr Isaac Cossart, Banquier at Amsterdam. I am with all imaginable respect, honourable Sir, etc. etc.,

G. Stepney.

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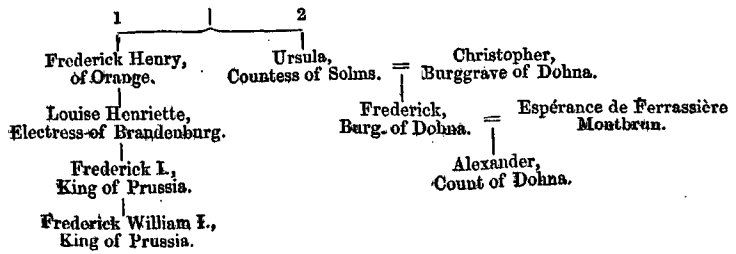
* The amount of the second of three terms of the Subsidy due to the Elector for the year 1694. Stepney's receipt to Stratford for the money is dated March 1st, 169⅘, Dresden.

ALEXANDER, BURGGRAVE OF DOHNA.

Alexander, Burggrave and afterwards Count of Dohna, was hardly less distinguished by the loftiness of his birth than remarkable for the purity of his character, the justness of his judgment, and the solidity of his acquirements. In a corrupt Court, and at a period when venality was not considered a disgrace, he was incorruptible: history has recorded to his honour that he was the only man of his time in Berlin who earnestly and seriously refused on any occasion to receive a present. His family, which tradition carried up to the reign of Charlemagne, and authentic history at all events to a remote antiquity, had been settled in France, and had only taken refuge in Berlin when the violence and injustice of Louis XIV. became intolerable; but it was originally Prussian, and this circumstance, added to a new and near connection that was formed between its head and the reigning House of Brandenburg, in all probability determined the place of its retreat. Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange and Stadtholder of the Netherlands, had a sister, Ursula, Countess of Solms, who married Christopher, Burggrave of Dohna, and at the same time Governor and Captain-General in the principality of Orange. When Louis seized upon this principality it was under the government of Christopher's son Frederick, who had succeeded to the power and titles of his father. On this event he retired to his barony of Copet with his wife, Espérance de Ferrassière-Montbrun, a lady of a House celebrated in the wars of religion in France. The children of these parents were educated in the strict principles of the Reformation, and on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes decided upon leaving France, and sa-

crificing all their worldly prospects, rather than yield a tittle to the tyrannical will of the French King. The young Burggraves were attracted to Berlin, where many of their co-religionists had already found refuge, partly by the reputation of the Court, and the admiration with which Europe looked upon the great Elector; partly by the fact that this Prince's marriage with a first cousin of their father,* the Princess Louise Henriette of Orange, offered hopes of preferment in his service. Alexander, the eldest Burggrave, speedily saw his wishes gratified: his talents were favourably considered, and he was soon employed both in civil and military affairs of importance. In 1688 he was entrusted with the management of very delicate negotiations in Poland, and at the Court of Stockholm; in 1691 he was appointed one of the Electoral Privy Councillors; in 1694 he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and was made Governor of the Fortress of Pillau; and in 1695 his high reputation induced Frederick and Sophie Charlotte to entrust him with the education of their eldest son, Prince Frederick William, to which charge allusion is made in the following letter. It is not denied that Dohna discharged the duties of this important and responsible office conscientiously; but nevertheless some peculiarities in his own disposition, as well as an unfortunate selection of preceptors which he made, appear not to have



been without influence in producing the very unamiable character which Frederick William developed in after life. In the freedom of her confidential correspondence, Queen Sophie Charlotte complains that the spirit of niggardly parsimony which her son manifested at an early age is shared, and therefore not duly counteracted, by his governor. In 1702 or 1703 she thus wrote to her friend Mdlle. de Pöllnitz:—"I have sorrow, my dear Pöllnitz, and I must seek for consolation in communicating it to you. Besides other subjects which you can guess, there is one cause of annoyance, which your friendship for me made you foresee; the young man, whom I believed to be only hasty and impetuous, has given evidence of a harshness which assuredly can only arise from a bad heart. 'No,' says the Bülow, 'it was only the result of avarice.' My God! so much the worse! Avaricious at his tender age! Other vices we may correct, but this one grows upon us; and besides, how important is it, on account of the consequences that it brings with it! How can pity and compassion find access to a heart which is under the dominion of interest? Dohna is an honourable man; he has probity and noble sentiments; but a spirit of economy is a fault of his own, and it's ill correcting a fault which one approves of inwardly oneself." Coarseness and rudeness of demeanour towards her ladies are also complained of by the Queen, and it is very probable that on this point Dohna was not the best model that could have been selected: there seems to have been but little predilection on his part for the fashions and manners of Versailles, or for that graceful idling which made the charm of the Court of Brandenburg. So greatly was Sophie Charlotte alarmed at the growing austerity and brutality of her son, that she even

adopted the desperate measure of encouraging his gallantries as a mode of softening his character:—"Dites au Comte de Dohna, qu'il ne s'oppose pas aux galanteries du Prince Royal; l'amour polit l'esprit et adoucit les mœurs. Mais qu'il dirige son goût, qu'il ne porte sur rien de bas. Pas un chiffon de papier ne me tombe sous la main. Adieu, ma chère Pöllnitz."* It is well known how fruitless were all the efforts made to correct these vices which showed themselves so early in Frederick William, and with what scandalous brutality he tyrannized over all who had the misfortune to be brought in contact with him. Count Dohna was removed from his post of governor to the Prince in 1704.

He has left a volume of manuscript memoirs, which are stated to be of great value, but which, to the best of my knowledge, still remain unpublished. They must not be confounded with the frivolous work of his brother, printed under the title, 'Mémoires du Comte de Dohna.'

51.] COUNT DOHNA TO DE FALAISEAU.

Berlin, February $\frac{12}{22}$, 1695.

Sir,

I have been running about so much since I had the honour to see you, that I have been unable to keep up with you a correspondence, which was so agreeable to me when I was able to enjoy it; but finding myself stopped here, and in all likelihood for some time, I think it my duty to give some account of myself to a person who has given me so many marks of a genuine friendship, and for whom I have so much esteem as I have for M. de Falaiseau. I hope, Sir, that you will repay me in the same coin, and let me know the state of your

* This singular epistle, so characteristic of the woman and the age, is written on a card.

health, and whether you are pleased with your sojourn at Copenhagen. After leaving you, I underwent a severe illness, as you may have heard, which nearly carried me off, and put me *hors de combat* for nearly a year; but having recovered my strength, I had the honour during the three last campaigns of a command as Major-General. I hoped for promotion according to my seniority in this campaign; I have not been deceived on that score, for it has pleased his Majesty to make me a Lieutenant-General; but I shall not have the honour of serving in the army for some time, although I had turned all my views in that direction, and that I believed the Court disabused of the good opinion which M. de Falaiseau had given of my capacity for the Cabinet. I was ordered to repair hither last autumn, and on my arrival it was proposed to me to become Ober-Hofmeister to the Electoral Prince, and to enter into the Privy Council, without losing any of my military employments. These offers were so considerable that there was nothing to be said against them, so I tried to excuse myself on the score of the little talent I had for such occupation; they took this for modesty, and on that ground they condemned me; and as to what I said, that having devoted myself to war, it would be an irreparable loss for me to have to make so long an interruption, seeing that the experience and the reputation that one may gain in eight or ten years are not to be picked up again; they talked to me of the glory that there was in forming a great Prince to the practice of virtue, and of the probability of a peace. In short it is not surprising that a man, who moreover has no eloquence of his own, should be reduced to silence when he disputes with his master: so at last I yielded, or rather obeyed, and find myself engaged at present in a mode of life which is very unfit for me. I shall however do my best to get out of the scrape as little ill as I can. I shall not have much trouble in inspiring the Prince with friendship and esteem for persons who have as much merit and serve their masters so usefully as you, Sir; for it is a Prince who promises much, and has a great deal of sense for his age. There is nothing very new here

worth telling you of. You know, of course, that Lieutenant-General Baron Lottum is here to take the office of Grand Master; that old Dculing is dead, and that M. de Fleming has been made Stadtholder of Pomerania in his place. M. de Mœinderts is attacked with dropsy, and there is every probability that he will not survive the Equinox. For what regards my family, towards which, Sir, you have always shown great kindness, it is, God be praised, in good condition. The Countess of Dohna is well, having four daughters and a son, and she charges me to assure you of her humble services. Tell me, if you please, whether you intend to live for ever a bachelor. I approve of everything you do except that; and I am persuaded that, if you had real friends whose advice to ask, they would all counsel you to try a happier condition of life: it is not one's relations one ought to consult on that score,—they think you rich, and are on the look-out for your inheritance. I think my letter is long enough. I entreat you to continue me the honour of your friendship, and to believe me, sincerely, Sir, etc. etc.,

DOHNA.

P.S.—Tell me, if you please, how Mademoiselle de la Foray is; if it does not trouble her, my wife will renew her correspondence with her.

52.] STEPNEY TO LEIBNITZ.

Dresden, February 22nd, O. S., 1695.

Sir,

Pray do not take it ill that I have delayed so long tc answer your letter, and that I am obliged even now to use the hand of another person. I have been so occupied in London by my own affairs and by my friends, that it has been as good as impossible for me to discharge this duty, and on my arrival here there fell a fluxion on my eyes, which prevents me from putting my hand to paper myself. You will see by the annexed papers that I have acquitted myself well with the commission which you gave me to Mr. Smith and Mr. Rymer,

who will no doubt have written to you that I have had these pieces in my hands for a long time; I have kept them, in fact, in the hope I had of returning through Hanover, and delivering them into your own hands, but that the contrary wind having detained me in England longer than I expected, I have been obliged, in order to make more speed, to take the shortest route (which is that by Cassel) to reach Dresden, where I arrived the day before yesterday. I am sorry, Sir, that it was not in my power to be of more service to the gentleman who brought me a letter of recommendation from you to the Hague. He found me starting for England, and consequently not in a state to listen attentively to all that he had to tell me about his project; I begged him therefore to let me have in England the details of his affair at his leisure, but, instead of doing this, he sent me a letter for the King, which I showed to the Duke of Shrewsbury, Principal Secretary of State, although it was perfectly unintelligible, for he has taken so much pains to keep his secret, that it was impossible to guess what he meant; and as we are not people to suffer ourselves to be amused with mysteries, the affair remained there for want of explanation. For this gentleman is not to take it into his head that we shall approve his project without knowing what is to be the end of it. While I was still on board the vessel to cross the sea I received a letter, which it has pleased Madame the Electress to do me the honour to write to me, in answer to the one which I took the liberty of writing to her E. H. on the death of the Queen. I entreat you, Sir, to keep me still in the good graces of this generous Princess, for whom I shall all my life retain a profound veneration. You expect me, I dare say, to send you some pieces of poetry which have been made upon the death of the Queen, but I doubt not that your agent at London has already sent them you all. I have also been obliged to pay my little tribute to the memory of this Princess, which I have done since I recrossed the sea, in my postchaise, between Wesel and Lippstadt: I sent it to London by the last ordinary from Leipzig, and when I have any printed copies

you shall have one. In the meanwhile, here is a quatraine, in the manner of an epigram, on the subject of the Queen's dying with so much resolution, and the King's manifesting so much tenderness at her death :—

Dum Regina subit constanti pectore mortem
Opprimit immodicus Te Gulielme dolor;
Nunc animos par egregium mutâsse videntur,
Conjugis hic teneræ cor habet, illa viri.

Which means in English :—

So greatly Mary died, and William grieves,
You'd think the hero gone, the woman lives.

I have learnt since my arrival here that Madame de Bellemont and her sister, having finished their affairs to their satisfaction at Vienna, are returned to Hanover. You will probably see them at Court, and I beg you to assure them of my respects, and that I congratulate them with all my heart. I am, etc. etc.,

G. STEPNEY.

P.S.—Mr. Ilten has been kind enough to take charge of this packet, which I have no doubt will be delivered to you safely.

53.] LEIBNITZ TO STEPNEY.

[1695.]

SIR,

I hardly know how to give you thanks enough for the trouble which you have taken in the midst of the important public and private business, which cannot fail to press upon you in England, of getting me such valuable pieces, and from quarters so little accessible. I shall not fail to testify in our Courts under what obligations our History lies to you; and I should be happy if I could find an opportunity of proving my gratitude to you. Dr. Smith had indeed given me some hint of the matter, but not that it was settled. Since your route and the pressure of your affairs have not allowed of your

passing this way, I must console myself with the hope of enjoying that pleasure another time. Nevertheless we are all rejoiced at your happy return. I have admired and made others admire your excellent epigram upon the death of your great Queen. There is here a Scotch gentleman named Burnet, a relation of the Bishop of Salisbury, who is a man of much acquirement, and has profited well by his travels. He cannot find words enough to praise it. The Latin is wonderful, but he tells us the English is perhaps even more so. All your poets are writing funereal odes, even including Mr. Dryden, Papist as he is: I have learnt this from a letter which Mr. Burnet has received, which also contains the news that Mr. Cowley is writing a pastoral.

You have practised an invention which is good to fill up time, and which I use sometimes myself, that is, to make verses while you are travelling. Here is an epigram, which however I made at home, on what we are told, that King James declined to put on mourning for the Queen his daughter:—

Anglia Reginam deflet, Pater abstinet unus;
Non potuit gentem deseruisse magis.

I must, Sir, propose to you a question respecting the succession to the Crown. It seems to me that the Convention, which was afterwards turned into a Parliament, has ruled that a Papist should be excluded, also that a Prince of the blood or . . . .

This letter unfortunately breaks off here.

54.] STEPNEY TO BLATHWAYT.

Dresden, March $\frac{15}{25}$, 1695.

Honourable Sir,

Wee are hourly expecting the Courier from Vienna, who, by our ordinary letters of yesterday's post, was to be dispatched in a day or two with the Emp^rs finall resolution in answer to

what the Elector and Mr Schöning have demanded; which (it seems) the Imp^rl Court thinks exorbitant in every point, and has made such large abatements, as give us reason to fear they will not be relishd when they shall arrive. And if the Elector and his Genl were never in earnest when they talkd of going to Hungary (as I have suspected from the beginning, and do yet), they will have opportunityes enough of getting off, by laying the fault at ye Emper^rs door, for not granting conditions w^h wee think here but moderate.

I cannot yet tell in what consists this change they would make, except that I perceive by Count Harrachs discourse, as if the Emp^r would not condescend to capitulate beforehand with Schöning, by giving him an entire liberty 'ere he enters into the service, but reserves the annulling his Revers as a point of grace, when by his actions he shall have merited such a recompence.

That the Elect^r and M. Schöning might not be surprised at so flatt an answer, Count Harrach has very prudently prepared them both these 2 or 3 days by foretelling the worst that can happen, which at first they heard with great Indignation, but are now grown more moderate. Wee are impatient to see what humour they will be in when they know the utmost they have to trust to; for 'tis presumed this Courier will bring the *Ultimatum*, and Count Harrach expects a postscript under the Emp^rs own hand, Not to give way to the losing any more time, but either to conclude upon the terms contained in these Instructions, or to break off, and leave the Elect^r to follow his own measures.

Wee hear Prince Lewis has obtained 2000 Hussars of the Emp^r & that the Langrave of Hesse may be prevailed with to stay at home, and send his troops under the Prince of Badens command. I should be glad to have this last point confirmd to me by my letters from Baron Goertz, since thereby the greatest difficulty will be surmounted before I remove to Cassell.

Mr Leibnitz of Hannover has sent me an Epigram he made on the late Kings not going into mourning for her Ma^ty which perhaps you may not dislike.

Anglia Reginam deflet; Pater abstinet unus:
Non potuit Gentem *deseruisse* magis.

he means the Sence of the Nation.

I doubt but you have had from other hands the severe Hexastichon* that has been made at Paris, and the versions made upon them in Holland, and at Berlin by Mr Fuchs. I have chang'd the last line thus:

Neu meriti palmam credas cessisse marito:
Hic patriam socero prætulit, Illa patri.

I am with all imaginable respect, etc. etc.,

G. Stepney.

Count Harrachs Courier is arrived: by next Post you may expect to hear what he brings and how it is received.

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* The Verses alluded to are as follows:—

French Hexastichon on Mary's Death.

Auriaca occubuit violati Numinis ira,
Addita portentis, Anglica terra, tuis.
Dura soror, sterilis conjux, nata impia, majus
Ausa nefas, quod nec Tullia dira probet.
Nec sceleris palmam credas cessisse marito,
Hic socerum regnis exuit, illa patrem.

The Berlin Retort.

Auriaca occubuit, cœlesti numinis aura,
Angelicis felix addita Diva choris.
Alma soror, conjuxque, et duri nata parentis,
Ausa bonum, quod non Gallia dira probet.
Dum patriæ fideique salus, sociata marito
Redditur; hic socerum deserit, illa Patrem.

The Dutch Version.

Occubuit regina, Deo cunctisque adamata,
Libertatis amans, Anglica terra, tuæ.
Uxor sancta, doli vindex, pia Filia, duro
Præponens populi commoda sacra Patri.
Nec meriti palmam credas cessisse marito,
Hic juvat oppressos viribus, illa Fide.

55.] STEPNEY TO BLATHWAYT.

Dresden, March 26th, 1695.

Honourable Sir,

I must beg leave to send you this Post a copy only of the Relation I have made to Duke Shrewsbury, N° 1 in answer to fresh orders I received from his grace last Post, whereof I send herewith a copy, N° 2. tho' you will find little or no difference between these Instructions and those you were pleased to sett me out with. I have added N° 3 that article of the Protocol given to Count Harrach yesterday, which relates to our subsidies: which is likely to prove *une pierre d'achopement;* But that Count Harrach might not be too free of disposing of our Purses, I thought fitt to tell him plainly how little he had to trust to; it being a dangerous thing to amuse him with hopes, and too late to undeceive him when wee come to conclude. Mr Ham (who will always be in the right and who thinks nothing well done but what he does himself,) wou'd have kept these orders as a mystery from Count Harrach, in which I disagreed, seeing it would only be to flatter him in an error, now wee have no time to fool away in mistakes of this nature. Besides that wee must one of these days speak plainly, and therefore to do it honestly and with sort of confidence in Count Harrach, (who is so free with us to communicate his Instructions from the Emperour and the Relations he sends back,) was what I thought would have the best grace, and was at bottom the best Policy. I have not yet been honoured with any letters from you; but I still hope I am under your Protection, for I am with all imaginable respect, Honourable Sir, etc. etc.,

G. STEPNEY.

56.] STEPNEY TO LEIBNITZ.

Dresden, May $\frac{19}{20}$, 1695.

Sir,

I owe an answer to two of your letters, one of the 9th

March, the other of the 25th of April, for which I return you a thousand thanks, particularly for your beautiful couplet on King James not choosing to put on mourning for his daughter. I have received Mr. Cowley's pastoral from London, which in this sort of poetry is the most perfect thing that I have seen in our language. I had promised you a copy of the verses which I made on the Queen, and which I now send you, begging you to present it to Madame the Electress whenever she has leisure for trifles of the kind. The question which you proposed to me respecting the Succession is very curious. It is easy enough to see by the Act of the Convention which afterwards passed in Parliament, that every precaution was taken not to express any more than was absolutely necessary. I shall also entreat you, Sir, to allow me to remain silent upon matters which are unknown to me, and which perhaps may never come to pass. If I had, Sir, the honour of being in your company, this might furnish an excellent matter for our conversation, but it seems much too delicate for a letter.

I am very sorry not to have been able to deliver into Countess von Kœnigsmark's own hands the letter you sent me for her; I did not receive it till after she had already left for Carlsbad, but I have so well recommended it, that she will not fail to receive it. Monsieur the Elector and she ought to be much obliged to you for communicating so fine a secret to them; and I thank you with all my heart for addressing the letter to me under a flying seal, in order that I may take a copy of it, and communicate the secret to my friends who are going to the army and might want it. As for myself, I do not see that the service of the King requires my going into Hungary or on the Rhine, besides which my inclination does not at all lead me to it; and as I have entirely discharged the commission with which his Majesty honoured me in Saxony, I expect by my first letters from England orders to decamp, but towards which side I shall turn, whether I shall go to Flanders, to Vienna, or to Cassel, is what at present I do not know. As soon as I am informed I will not fail to let you know, in order to be able to keep a correspondence with

a person of your merit wherever I may happen to be. Our friend Mr. Rymer is working in earnest at a collection of the treaties which the Kings of England have made with foreign Powers, in imitation of those six volumes which Lunard has printed in France, and of the work which you yourself have begun with so much success. I send you adjoined a copy of the advertisement which has been printed in our 'London Gazette,' in order that you may have the kindness to send such pieces as you may happen to possess upon this subject, and which may be useful to Mr. Rymer, which will be a good service that you will render to England as well as to the public. As soon as I am settled in any place, I shall set to work to study carefully the treaties of peace since the beginning of the negotiations of Münster and Osnabrück, and I am already making a collection of books which treat of this matter. As you are very learned in all things, I intreat you, Sir, to give me a list of such books. I begin with Puffendorf's history, 'De Rebus Suecicis.' I have long been looking for the work of Vittorio Siri, without being able to get the volumes complete; you will oblige me very much if you can procure it for me amongst your acquaintances, as also the 'Theatrum pacis cum continuatione Brueri' of the best edition; point out to me also, if you please, who of all your Germans that have written on the Peace of Münster is the best. From the Peace of Münster I descend to that of the Pyrenees, respecting which I have a pretty piece enough, called 'L'Histoire de la Paix des Pyrénées,' printed at Cologne in the year 1667. The letters of Cardinal Mazarin will also be of some use to me; that is all that I have on that subject. Between the Peace of the Pyrenees and that of Aix-la-Chapelle, there are several pieces for and against the rights of the Queen of France: I have some of them; but as regards the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle I have nothing that treats of it, except what may be found in some passages of Sir William Temple's Memoirs, on whom, and on M. Didier's collection, I also rely for the Negotiation of Nimeguen. I have not yet seen any book touching the truce of twenty years; there are some, I doubt not, though

they have not come to my notice. You will sensibly oblige me by taking the trouble to give a full answer to this letter, and in return I shall always execute with pleasure anything that you will entrust to me, being, with much passion and esteem, etc. etc.,

G. STEPNEY.

57.] LEIBNITZ TO STEPNEY.

(*Extract of my Letter to Mr. Stepney, June 28th,* 1695.)

The best that we have seen upon the Peace of Westphalia are the letters of Christopherus Forstnerus and the 'Historia Pacis Westphaliæ,' which appeared anonymously, but is by Mr. Pfannerus. A certain lawyer besides, named Otto, has written not ill on this subject, as well as a certain Oldenburger, but he wanders a great way from his object. It will be difficult to find Vittorio Siri complete. The Peace of the Pyrenees was the last reasonable one. It seems to me that Gualdo, in his 'History of Mazarin,' has done something that may be of service. I once saw a fragment of the history which the late M. Wiquefort contemplated writing after the Peace made in Westphalia between Spain and Holland; he was working at it for MM. the States, and M. the Pensionary de Witt furnished him with Memorials, but as M. Fagel was his enemy, the work was put a stop to by the misfortune of M. de Witt. Cardinal de Mazarin takes great credit to himself in his letters, and often with very little reason: one sees in them, too, here and there some little traces of trickery (as, for example, with regard to the coin), which seemed to me little worthy of a great Minister. For the pretended rights of the Queen of France you must take the treatise of a lawyer, called 'Stockmann on Devolution.' The whole interval from that time to the subsequent war with Holland may be cleared up by the discourses which the late M. d'Isola published from time to time. It appears now that M. the President Canon wishes to put himself on the same footing: he is the

author of the 'Salut de l'Europe,' and he is only too much in the right in showing that we have still need of every exertion in order to humble France. I do not remember to have seen anything worth noticing about the twenty years' truce, which is the most ridiculous truce on record, inasmuch as it was made after the peace was concluded, while in all other cases the world has made its peaces after its truces.

God grant that we may carry some considerable place this year, as I hope, from the superiority of the King's forces. Father De la Rue, in his funeral oration upon the Duke of Luxemburg, has with great justice acknowledged that nothing but the genius of his Majesty could have united and directed the powers and differing interests of so many populations to one and the same end: it is true that it must cost him a great deal of pains, and that the multitude of the parts which make up the great machine which he directs, must be very often in the way of the execution of his generous designs; but as they are just, I hope that God will bless them.

I wish you may everywhere have negotiations as succesfsul as this Saxon one, in which you have no doubt contributed a good deal to a resolution so beneficial for Christendom; and indeed the troops of Saxony could not have been actively employed anywhere else.

58.] DUKE MAXIMILIAN WILLIAM TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

Du Camp d'Erasco, le 16 *7bre,* 1695.

Madame,

Si ma bourse oistoit en si bon estat que ma santé, je serois le plus heureux du monde; mais estan pauvre de l'une et riche de lautre, la vie n'est pas tout parfaite. Tous cela ne fait rien, et je serois toujours conten, pourvu que je puis entendre que V. A. E. se porte bien et que j'en recois souven des assurances par l'honneur de ces lettres; c'est de cela qui me consolera le plus est qui me fera passer la vie agreablemen, partout où je

me trouue. Je bien eu de la joi d'entendre que le mariage du Duc de Modene avec la Princesse Amalie se fera bien tost, d'on je la felicite de tout mon cœur. Je ne fais pas trop de fon sur cet argen que Jacometto me fait esperer de la Republique, et si je n'aurois pas d'autre, ji passeres fort mal la prochaine Campagne, car le Sig^re Fr^co Foscari m'a fait assurer qui seroit tres difficile de l'avoir, est on soit bien que la Republique ne remunere jammais les choses passée; c'est pourquoi il faut remettre cette partie a des occasions plus favorables. Apres que le Courier nous apporté les bonnes nouvelles de la prise du Chateau de Namur, le Duc de Savoi en fera faire la rejouissance demain, et en fera chanter le Te Deum sou le bruit des canons. Je croi que nous ne ferons plu rien de ce coté ici, est qu'on remettera le siege de Pignerol pour la procheine Campagne; la repartition pour les quartiers d'iver n'est pas encore faite, est je ne sai ou on logera mon Regimen, on si restera aupres les Espagnols. Je ne doute pas que l'Opera Alemande aye este bien ridiculé. Mon frere Cristian a fait une belle Campagne cest annee, ou il a eu l'occasion de voir beaucoup; mais je suis bien aisé qui se porte bien, est je souhaite quil aye bientost de l'emploi. Voila tous ce que puis mender a V. A. E. d'ici; je la prie de me conserver ses bonnes graces est estre persuadé que je suis toute ma vie, Madame,

de V. A. E.

très humble et tres obéissan serviteur,

MAXIMILIEN GUILLEAUME.

59.] BURNET TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

April 7th, 1696.

May it please your Electoral Highnes,

I have staid some time that I might be able to give your E^l H. the full account of the discovery of this black conspiracy. Five are now Executed, who Confessed every thing, but yet would discover nothing, tho their pardon was offered

them if they would tell all they knew. Parkins was for three or four daies inclined to discover all, and confessed that of K. James's Commission writ all with his own hand. But afterwards he resolved rather to die than to discover all he knew. There is another that confesses that K. James ordered him out of his own mouth to goe to England and to obey the orders that one Berkeley should give him; and he saies that Berkeley ordered him to be one of those who should attack the King in his Coach. So here are two persons who lay the matter flatly upon that unfortunate Prince. Intimations that the French have published in all the Courts of Europe have brought a great deale of Suspition and reproach upon themselves, they had not such reason to be assured of successe in their Expedition to England, unlesse they reckoned upon the killing of the King as the foundation on which they built. This gives us a horrour at that Court, and sets the prospect of peace quite out of sight. It gave an occasion to a bold motion in the House of Commons, of setting an hundred thousand pounds on the King of France's head. When Princes let themselves once goe into such inhuman and barbarous designs, they can not easily foresee the Consequences of them. One consequence of this discovery does now appear which I am sure was not much apprehended. It has engaged the whole nation much deeper then ever in the Interest of the present Government. It has kindled in all mens minds a zeal for the King and a horrour of K. James beyond what I am able to expresse to Your E^{l} H^{s}. Very severe lawes are now on foot against all that party among us, and they will be very hardly put to it. All the other busines of the Parliament is almost over, and as soon as the chieffe men are tried, the King will goe into Flanders. In the mean while a full triall will be made, as soon as the season proves favorable, whither Dunkirk can be destroied from the sea or not. We now see our danger so apparently from the neighbourhood of that place, that, if it be possible, it will be either taken or destroied. We are in great expectations to hear what the Court of France saies of all our matters . . . . . ent talk once of

a Manifesto disowning this . . . . but we hear no more of it. Their silence must be *taken to be a* Confession, and since the point appears plain, ... the K. of France becomes at least a consen*ting* . . . . . him his Protection.

. . . . . going into the country, so that I shall not . . . . . enough to justify my presumption in . . . . . more trouble of this sort for some . . . . . ever be considered by your E. H. as one . . . . . profound duty and respect.

May it please your Electorall Highnes,
Your E. H.'s
Most humble most obedient and
most deuoted servant,
GI. SARUM.

60.] MADAME TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA. (*Extract*).

St. Cloud, October 27th, 1696.

When our King is with the army, or travels alone without women, all people of quality eat with his Majesty; I am therefore not surprised that King William does the same. They say here King William found the Electral Princess too ugly and too stupid, and therefore would not marry her. She was red-haired: you had not told me she had red hair, therefore I doubt its being true. I do not doubt that if King William would make a good Peace, people here would give him the title of King. They say the Prussians would be glad to see King James on the Throne of Poland; that would be at any rate better than going to Rome. Others say our Prince de Conti has a chance of being elected: I wish it him with all my heart. Colonel Diden will find that I write nonsense; but I do not mind that if I only amuse you a little.

etc. etc.,
ELIZABETH CHARLOTTE.

61.] BURNET TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

Westminster, December 15th, 1696, *O. S.*

May it please your Electorall Highnes,

I have not given myselfe the honour to appear before your El. H^s in this manner for some moneths: I was then in my Diocesse, which produced nothing that was worth the troubling your E^l H^s. We have now a Parliament sitting that expresses a zeal for the King and his Government, farre beyond what has hitherto appeared in any Session during this Reigne; nothing will be left undone by them that is necessary either to make a good warre or a just and honorable peace. The French seem to make advances towards a peace, but we have all the reason to beleeve that there is a new company of assassinates come over to try to end the warre in a short tho Infamous method. This makes us conclude that the great preparations at Brest, are designed, like those last year at Calais, to move when the stroke shall be given. The King is more carefull then he used to be, but this barbarous way of making warre is a great Reproach both to those Princes who set it on and to that Religion which encourages them to it. We hope God, who discovered and disappointed their designes last year, will still preserve us from such black practices. We have been in great straits here by the recoining the money which the clipping the old species had made necessary: if it had not been for that unhappy accident, we feel that we grow no poorer but rather richer by the warre. We have a strong fleet at Sea and fear nothing but Assassination. We have been in some apprehensions of a breach in Holstein; it is a great happiness that our Enemies are disappointed there. The King maintains still a tranquillity which amases all people, for the severall examinations shew that many are at work to destroy him, he expresses no anxiety nor any other concern but that he suffers those about him to guard him more exactly than formerly. It is very likely that these are the last efforts of our Enemies, so that probably if they miscarry, the Nego-

tiations of peace will be carried on more vigorously; tho it is very likely that those who make warre in so perfidious a manner, will have more advantages by the Correspondence that a Peace must open, to prosecute their designs. Men capable of such things are to be equally mistrusted in peace as well as in warre. When there is a further view of our matters, to be given to your E^{l} H^{s}, I will take the liberty to give your E^{l} H^{s} a new trouble, but will presume no more at present, but to acknowledge myselfe to be with profoundest respect and the most perfect duty possible,

May it please your Electorall Highnes,
Your E^{l} H.'s most humble, most devoted
and most obedient servant,
GI. SARUM.

62.] MAXIMILIAN, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG.

A Vienne, le 16*e d'Avril*, 1697.

Je voudrois avoir des nouvelles propres à vous divertir, mais comme une bourse vuide ne rejouit pas l'esprit, cela me met hors d'état de m'acquitter de mon devoir. Vous me pardonnerés donc, si je ne vous satisfais point pour cette fois. Si j'avois de l'Argent je ne manquerois pas de matiere pour vous entretenir, car je suis dans un endroit où les maitresses se font à force d'argent; ainsi je ne suis que spectateur de leurs divertissemens. L'Electeur de Saxe, où j'irai diner aujourd'hui, ne se plaint pas de celà, et par sa liberalité a mis la cherté dans les bonnes fortunes. Jusqu'icy il ne s'est attaché qu'à la Comtesse d'Isterle, et ce n'est que sa faute de n'en avoir pas d'autres, n'y ayant pas une qui ne lui face des caresses, et qui ne soit prompte à recevoir une fougue de luy, quand il le voudra. Il est bien facheux que le bien ne soit mieux partagé, dans le monde, qu'un n'aye rien, et l'autre tout. Mon occupation icy ne consiste qu'à chercher d'accommoder mes affaires. Les Assemblées qui se font d'une part et d'autre, ne sont pas trop

divertissantes; il n'y a que de certaines gens qui en profitent. Cependant je suis toujours de bon appetit, et il ne me manque rien que l'occasion, pour me faire valoir aussi bien que les autres. Il faut que le Baron se soit bien diverti pendant quelque tems, et vous faites fort bien de ne le pas haïr pour cela. C'est une chose fort naturelle qu'un chacun suive son penchant; il ne faut jamais envier le bien d'autrui. Je suis faché que votre Turque n'étoit pas de même humeur, quand j'etois à Berlin, car sans vous faire tort, j'aurois fait comme le Baron. Ce sont des Bagatelles, qui ne sont blamées que par la fantaisie de quelque Hipocrite, ou d'un Veillard, qui ayant perdu l'usage des sens, envie les plaisirs d'un honnête homme. Et n'ayant plus rien à vous dire, je vais reiterai les asseurances de mon amitié, et suis votre très humble et tres obeiss: Servit[r]:

MAXIMILIAN GUILLAUME.

63.] SOPHIE CHARLOTTE OF PRUSSIA TO DE FUCHS.

July 17*th*, 1697.

At present, Sir, I can give you a Rowland for your Oliver, for I have seen the great Czar; he had made an appointment with me at Coppenbrügge (a village in the country of Celle), where he did not know that all the family would meet him, in consequence of which we had to negotiate for an hour before he would show himself. At last he agreed that Monsieur the Duke of Celle, my mother, my brothers, and myself should come and meet him in the supper-room, which he would enter at the same time by another door, in order not to be seen; for the crowd of people which he had perceived upon a parapet on arriving, had made him turn back from the village. My mother and myself began to make our compliment to him, which he made M. Le Fort answer for him, for it seems he is shy, and hid his face with his hand: "Ich kann nicht sprechen." However we soon tamed him, and he sat down to table between Madame my mother and me, where each of us entertained him

in turn, and the question was which of us should have him to herself. Sometimes he answers himself, sometimes through his two interpreters; and assuredly he said nothing but was very much *à propos*, and that upon all the subjects on which we put him, for the liveliness of Madame my mother gave plenty of questions, which he answered with the same readiness; and I am astonished that he was not tired with the conversation, since they say there is not much of it in his country. As for his grimaces, I expected to find them worse than they were, and some of them it is not in his power to correct. One sees too that he never had a master to teach him to eat cleanly; but he has a natural air, and his manner is without constraint, which pleased me; for he soon behaved as if he were at home, and after having permitted the gentlemen who served to come in, and all the ladies whom he made difficulties at first of seeing, he made his people shut the door, and placed his favourite, whom he calls his right arm, near it, with orders to let no one go out, and sent for large glasses, and gave each of them three or four bumpers, as a sign that he meant to do them honour. He gave them the glass himself; some one attempted to give a glass to Quirini; he took it out of his hands and put it himself into Quirini's, which is a piece of politeness which we did not expect. I gave him music to see what sort of a face he would make, and he said he liked it, especially Ferdinando, whom he recompensed as he had the gentlemen of the court with a bumper. We were four hours at table to please him, drinking in the Muscovite fashion, that is, all at once standing to the health of the Czar. Frederick was not forgotten; however he drank but little. In order to see him dance, I begged M. Le Fort to let us have his musicians, who came after supper. But he would not begin till he had seen first how we danced, which we did to please him, and to see him do it too. He could not, and would not begin till he had got some gloves, and had some hunted for throughout his train without finding any. Madame my mother danced with the fat Commissary; and in front M. Le Fort led off the whole with the daughter of Countess Platen, and the Chancellor with the mother: it all went

off very gravely, and the Muscovite dance was pronounced pretty. In short all the world was very well satisfied with the great Czar, and he seemed to be so too. I hope you will be so also with the account I give you of it, and if you think it *à propos*, you may amuse Monsieur the Elector with it. This is enough to tire you, but I cannot help myself: I like to talk of the Czar, and if I could trust myself I would tell you more than ——. I remain, your very affectionate friend, to serve you,

SOPHIE. CHARLOTTE.

P.S.—The Jester of the Czar made his appearance also, who is very stupid; however we were very much inclined to laugh at seeing his master take a great broom and set to sweeping him down.

64.] THOMAS BURNET, OF KEMNEY, TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

London, July 29th, 1697.

May it please your Electorale Hynesse,

Madame,

Not having given your E: Hynesse the truble of any of myne this long tyme, I doe now reassume my deuty in the most humble acknowledgements of reverential esteem for your hynesses persone, and obsequiousnesse to your commands. I hope your hy=sses personal health and happinesse at present is als great as it is prayed and wished for; And I should find my own joy and happinesse in hearing so of itt. I have written ample relationes alwayes to Mr. Leibnitz concerning the occurrences of learning, books, and other curious knowledge, which was intended to be communicat to your E: H: at your desyre, and which I hope he heth bein alwayes ready to doe. I have just now writt to him a full and fresh acount for your Hynesses use. I shall only offer in this to your electorale curiositie, some few notices which were omitted in my letter to him.

The questione continous concerning the love we ow to god: whether it ought to be of pure complacencie, and delectatione in his infinite perfectiones, without any relatione to our oun interest and advantage; or iff the trew love of god will admitt self-interest and that which they call love of desyre. The dispute did first begin twixt Mr. Noris a divine neir Salisbury, and Mistris Ash, a young Ladie of extraordinar piety and knowledge, as any of the age. Many letters upon this subject have passed betwixt Mr. Norris and her. Her two litle books of proposals to the Ladies, the first and second parts, shew both her zeal and judgement in the advyces given to her sexe, for the reformatione of maners, living, studies and conversatione of the ladies. She is not above 22 yeirs yet, And wrote those advyces several yeirs before. There is come forth this week a new book by some clergieman of the dioces of Sarum, reviving againe the dispute about the love of god. I sent three parcels of books and little peices to yōr E. Hi. I never have heard yet if they be come to hand. In one of these bundles there is a sermon of Dr. Sherlock's dean of Pauls upon that text "Bewar that no man deceive you thorrow vain philosophy" &c. I thought there were 4 or 5 paragraphs in it which plainly and cleirly overturned the Socinian maximes and rules, and so there whole sceme. It seems they have thought fit to make reflectiones upon it, though bot a single sermon, and one of the shortest he ever printed; for now to day is come out 'Ane answeir to some objectiones of the Socinians against a sermon concerning the danger of vaine philosophie, preacht before the lord mayer by Dr. Sherlock,' by himself. I have not yet seen it. But I cannot bot hope well of any thing writt by the dean, who is judged the most reasonable wryter of the island. There is a new editione of Mr. Westley's famous poem on the lyffe of Christ in 7 books, in folio. It heth the best taile-douces into it, that were ever seen in this countrey, for exactnesse of dessein and good graveing. It is a heroick poeme composed for the use of our last queen of blessed memory; she did delight much into it, And it is indeed the best divine poeme we have. The author is ane young clergieman,

a beneficed persone, and chaplain to the Marquis of Normanby, who is himself one of the best poets of the age. We are every hour impatiently expecting the coming out of Mr. Dreydens laborious versione of Virgil into English. Virgil was the most heroic poete that ever sung in the most floorishing tymes of ingenious arts and witt in the Roman impyre; And Mr. Dreyden (for his vast learning, perfectione in our langwadge, noble fancie, richenesse of thought, rypenesse of age, and experience of more as 50 years in the practice, and the many triumphant pieces of his compositione, already extant) heth the fairest pretences to the immortal laurels of Virgil, as prince of all our english poets. He is so old that it is looked upon as his leaving the woreld of Poetry: And if he can bot make a good Exit, all that ere a Poete can wish for in his declyning dayes. If it fall out other wayes, they will say his Muse is at her dottage; and aught not to be heard. Whouever we all expeet to feast ourselves upon this book when it comes forth; Then I shall shew your E. Hsse the relish the best criticks have of it. It is a disadvantage to be translating the best piece of Poetrie of the antients, wherof the versione being bot a coppie or imitatione, most come short of the origenal: And because the author heth bein so many yeirs about this work, as his last and cheifest work, our witts will criticise the same the more.

I shall now tell your E. H's. something of the singular caracters of two great persones dead heir, some little whyle agoe. The one is Doctor Horneck, minister of the Savoy, one of the best divines for preaching and living both, that was in England. He was of primitive zeal and practice in his devotions; His preaching most florid, fervent, and pathetique, bot all upon the Mystique way, which did take much with the common sort of serious people, who are many tymes wrought upon by zealous raptures of commtunion with god, the grace of God, Indwelling in Christ, the joy of the holy ghost, and other misterious notiones, which they fancie, rather than feel or understand. Whowever he is much lamented, and had upwards of one thousand of godly sisters, daughters, and mothers in Israel, to convoy his corps to the enterment. He did certainly much good,

by his catechising, visiting, preaching, wryting and exemple: Bot efterall it is debated whether he heth done more good or Evil, to the most of those well intentioned people: for by crying up so much the austerity of the primitiue devotione, and the frequencie of its exercises, (and that at hours which now wold be thought unseasonable), the lenth of these acts of devotione, the number and strictnesse of his rules, with his precepts of Mortificatione, &c.,—he made the way to Heaven so hard and laborious; That many good ladies that folloued up most to his precepts, were thrown into a thousand melancholique sufferings and fears, for not having doone all that they thought they were obleidged to doe, lyk the primitive Christians: Others that did follow his book of Morning's best Exercise more closely, did prejudge much the health of there body alseweill as of mynd therby. Bot I have said enough of him, of whom your Hy=sse might have heard already sufficiently (for ought I know) being ane german, both by birth and educatione. His place as Curate in the Savoy, under old docter Killegrow, (now almost 100 years old) is given to docter Pratt, the duke of Glocesters chaplain, and one of the best preachers in toun. His benefice as chanoine of Westminster-Abbey is given to the chaplain of this present housse of Commons.

The other worthie persone dead latelie and much regreted, is Mistris Stillingfleet, who was the present bishop of Wosters wyffe. She was the best Wyffe and christian of any in this island, And I may safelie say the most learned of her sex, in this age. To make out but a few of the lineaments of her caracter. She was both lovelie, and handsome, of good qualety, and of gentile breeding, Her mynde yet more set for learning, then her educatione; Which made her, upon the reading of Dr. Stillingfleet's books, when bot a very young man, say positively to her father, 'That she most of necessity have Mr. Stillingfleet for Husband, if it could be procured.' She had her desyre; And never did two enjoy the happinesse of conjugal society, for a coorse of many yeirs, more; nor were two more unit in desires, mutual offices of Love and conde-

scention; there humors were the same, and there diligence and passione for reading had no other exemple lyk the practice of ather. She was the greatest Scoliar of a Woman, as he is inquestionablie of a Man. I say all this to your E. H. not for some sparkling of witt, or moderate stock of knowledge she had, Bot because in all parts of Theologie, particularlie the controversial, church antiquitie, philosophie antient and modern, historie and geography, she was deeplie learned; had red the best authors, and for moral authors and all others she conversed with, she by a solid judgement of critick, treasured up all there Hony.

For Medicine, Anatomy, Chymie, and Mathematiques, particularly true Astronomy, she understood als much as many that made them there professiones. In painting, musick, gardening, she had greater skill then practice; Had the latin & greek als well as most learned men; And for womenly exercises of sowing, pastery, confectioning, embroidery, preserving, making of drugs, and for all household oeconomy, she was equall to any other ladys. I have seen in a ladys cabinet a map and carte of England, of her oune draught for the designe, done upon satin with silk colours of her oune sowing, most exactlie & more accurat then most geographycal carts printed. I have seen also her library, (distinct from that of her husbands, which is the best of any private mans in the world) with variety of books in it, of latin, greek, frensh, italian, spanish, and English, all perused and red by her in her lyfetyme. I saw at the same tyme a basquet of bals (or bottoms as they call them heir) of fyne whyt thread, and silk, the knotting needle, sheers, pincase, and other instruments of womens working lying in itt. She was extreamly charitable, kynd to her freinds, and so humble with all her knowledge, that in the company of her neighbour ladies, she alwayes talked of the wynd, weather, the wealfare of acquaintances, the kyndnesse and obligationes received of any freinds of theres, or els of the news of the toun: Affecting even amongst men, to know nothing of Higher subjects. One thing was indeed told me of her by a lady that knew her well, which I think a peice of hy-

pocrysie, (tho she may be meaned it as ane innocent diversione): She wold severall tymes ask questiones at gentlemen & clergiemen pretending to knowledge, concerning the possibility of the roundnesse of the world, the bignesse of the stars, the Antipodes, &c., seem to be so simple & surprysed with there answeirs; And yet afterwards to smyle with her particular freinds when out of there sight, at the ignorance she had discovered in them, when they thought they had learned her very much. She dyed of a long pyning desease which turned to ane hydropsie, And wanted nothing of the heroick curage and piety of a christian in dying; except in her unwillingnesse to goe to heaven without her Husband. The strugles that preceed the dissolutione of soul from the body were never more sensible to the eyes then there greiff to be tared (as it were) from one aneother. Her last words were 'That my lord her husband might be caryed out of the roume, That the impressione of greiff might wear off at least when she was within a minut of her glory: And that she might be buried privatelie, without a funeral sermon, or any other ceremony, bot that of a liberal distributione to the poor that day.' We should sorrow much more for the losse of such ane excellent soul, were there not left a double portione of her Spirit, or rather the quintessence of all the fyne spirits in the world, remaining upon her husband yet alive. I forgot to relate that Mistris Stillingfleet, out of ardent desyre efter Dr Hornecks primitive devotiones, was used to ryse in the morning by . . . clock, even in winter. This did macerat her body, and spoil a good face so much, that my Lord her husband uzed to say to her: 'Dr. Horneck was a good man, bot that he wold banish him from her company, and burn his books in her closet.' All my informatione of this rare persone comes from sure hands, which made me bold to communicat the same to your Elec=lle Hynesse, who heth obleidged me to be for ever a most readie and most obedient servant.

65.] DANCKELMANN TO DE FALAISEAU.

Hamburg, $\frac{19}{29}$ of August, 1697,

Sir,

The affairs of Poland are finished, so to say; the Elector carries the day; the Cardinal returns to Rome, the rest of the Conti party have made their capitulation as they best could; those who have advanced large sums to the Prince de Conti, and have even engaged all their estates to push his cause, seeing that the merchants of Dantzic will no longer discount bills on France, have taken possession of poor Polignac, have put him under arrest, and have him strictly watched by guards upon whom they can rely—an ignominy of which there are few examples. The ministers of the great Czar and Sweden have been to congratulate the King, and the first has, by order of his master, offered his Majesty any assistance which he can wish for against France and the Infidels. There is a furious upset in Saxony, for not only is all the Court sent about its business, the Stadthalter Fürstenberg established in power, but of the Privy Councillors, Knock, Hüneken, Birnbaum, Boose, and Haugwitz have positively received their dismissal, and Zinsendorf and Miltitz expect it every moment, the affair being already determined upon; and I am told that in their places MM. Olivekranz, of Sweden, Rumohr and Bodmer, who is Horn's son-in-law, will be appointed, if they have any wish: in short, Sir, I foresee plenty of uproar in that quarter. At length, after a thousand difficulties, the project has this day been made after a fashion with respect to the Union and the Communion, which they hope on both sides will be approved by the masters; and tomorrow they will take up the matter of the right of arms. Here are plenty news of a public character: I shall give you none which regard yourself individually, unless you, Sir, give me permission so to do, not being at all inclined to mix myself up in matters which may be disagreeable to persons for whom I have as much respect as for you. You, Sir, well know best what suits yourself, but permit me to tell you that if I were in your place, I would not drive

the patience of a person who suffers, to an end. Our most Serene Master will be on the 22nd inst. V.S. at Berlin. Count Königsegge is still here, and although he gave out last week positively that he should start this week, there is not the slightest appearance of it. I am assured that he is making his wife return from the Hague to Vienna, no doubt to solicit for his *visa* there, and he means to await the result here. I act frankly, Sir, in telling you my opinion as I have done; but if it displeases you, I can easily do without matters which do not concern me being, Sir, perfectly, etc. etc.,

DANCKELMANN.

66.] SOPHIA, ELECTRESS OF BRUNSWICK.

Herrenhausen, August 11, 1697.

I must tell you now that I have seen the illustrious Czar. His Majesty's expenses were entirely paid by the Elector of Brandenburg as far as Wesel; but he was obliged to pass through Coppenbrück, which is a fief of our House, belonging to the Prince of Nassau in Friesland. We had asked an audience of his Czarish Majesty (for he maintains his *incognito* everywhere, and his three Ambassadors have the sole charge of the representation). The Prince consented to receive us, and to see us in private. I was accompanied by my daughter and my three sons, the Elector George Louis, Prince Christian, and Prince Ernest Augustus. The second Prince, Maximilian William, had long left Hanover, for reasons which are well known. Although Coppenbrück is four long miles from here, we started for it with the greatest zeal, Coppenstein having gone before us to make the necessary arrangements. We got the start of the Muscovites, who did not arrive till about eight o'clock, and brought up at the house of a peasant. In spite of our agreement, so great a multitude of people had gathered together that the Czar did not know what to do to avoid being recognized; so we capitulated for a long time. At last my son was obliged to have the spectators dispersed

by the soldiers of the guard, and during the time the Ambassadors were arriving with their suite, the Czar slipped by a private staircase into his own room, because in order to get there he would have had to go through the dining-room. We joined his Majesty in this room, and the first Ambassador, M. Le Fort, of Geneva, acted as interpreter. The Czar is very tall, his face is very handsome, and his person very noble; he has great liveliness of spirit, and his repartee is ready and to the purpose: but with all the advantages which Nature has given him, it is much to be desired that his manners should be a little less rustic. We sat down at once to table. M. Coppenstein, who acted as Marshal, presented the napkin to his Majesty, but he did not know what to do with it, because instead of napkins at table, they had given him in Brandenburg water-glasses after dinner. His Majesty was placed at table between my daughter and myself, with an interpreter on each side. She was very gay and very talkative, and we struck up a great friendship. My daughter and his Majesty exchanged snuff-boxes: the Czar's was ornamented with his initials, and my daughter sets great store by it. We remained at table in truth a very long while, but we would willingly have stayed even longer, without feeling a moment's *ennui*, for the Czar was in a very good humour, and did not cease to entertain us. My daughter made her Italians sing: their performance pleased him, although he confessed he did not care much for music. I asked him if he liked hunting: he replied that his father had been very fond of it, but that as for himself, from his childhood upwards, he had been passionately fond of navigation and fireworks. He told us that he worked himself at ship-building, showed us his hands, and made us feel the callosities which had formed themselves there by dint of manual labour. After our meal his Majesty sent for his violins, and we danced Russian dances, which I like much better than the Polish ones. We kept up the ball till four o'clock in the morning: we had in fact formed a design to pass the night in a château in the neighbourhood, but as it was already daylight we returned hither at once without

sleeping, and very well satisfied with our day. It would take up too much time to detail to you all we saw. M. Le Fort and his nephew were dressed in the French fashion; both of them are very clever. I could not get an opportunity of speaking to the two other Ambassadors, or to the multitude of Princes who are in the suite of the Czar. The Czar, who did not know that the locality made it utterly impossible for us to remain there, expected to see us the next day: if we had known this beforehand, we would have made some arrangement to stop in the neighbourhood, in order to see him again, for his company gave us a great deal of pleasure. He is in all respects a noble man. I must also tell you that he did not get drunk in our presence; but scarcely had we started, when the people of his suite made ample amends to themselves. Coppenstein has certainly richly earned the superb pelisse of sables which they presented him with, for having kept up with them. He has told us however that even in their drunkenness they preserved a good deal of gaiety and politeness; but he had the honours and the triumph, for the three Muscovite Ambassadors had absolutely drowned their reason in wine when they set out.

67.] MAXIMILIAN, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG, TO THE ELECTRESS OF BRANDENBURG.

Kreuzenach, le 5. *Septembre*, 1697.

Commes nous sommes depuis trois semaines en marche, je n'ai pu repondre plustôt à l'honeur de la vôtre, par la quelle vous me dites la nouvelle du bruit qui court, que je suis devenu Catolique; ce qui m'a fort surpris, ne sachant qui puisse avoir inventé de semblables impostures, pour me faire paroitre dupe dans le monde. Cependant comme vous connoissés à peu près mon inclination, vous me ferés la justice de répondre pour moi à ceux qui se donnent la peine de s'informer de ma conduite, qu'il est vrai que j'aime fort le changement, mais ce n'est pas dans la Réligion où je la cherche. S'il y auroit des

Courones de reste, ou quelque grand avantage à faire, peut-être qu'on auroit raison d'avoir de semblables soupçons, puisqu'il ne seroit pas blamable que je songe à mes affaires le mieux que je puis, et que je cherche les moyens pour me bien établir. Mais comme ce bruit n'a pour bût que la seule Religion, je ne suis pas assés devot pour donner dans ce panneau sans savoir pourquoi, ou pour quelle fin. Si vous m'auriés dit que je gagnerois par là $\frac{m}{50}$ ecus de revenu, je vous aurois donné toute la raison du monde de croire ces sortes de bruits; mais, cela n'estant point, je ne sai ce que je vous y dois repondre. Ne savés vous pas que l'interest et la Réligion ont toujours été de si fideles eompagnons, qu'on ne peut pas les séparer; ainsi comme vous me parlés de l'un sans toucher l'autre, vous pouvés juger vous même quel fondement peut avoir vôtre nouvelle, laquelle ne sera jamais verifié, sans l'avantage qui me pourroit faire changer de sentiment, que je ne vois pas à l'heure qu'il est. Il faut que celui qui vous a fait accroire mon changement soit d'une autre opinion que moi. Mais pour finir mon discours, je vous assure et vous promets, que je vivrai autant pauvre luterien, jusqu'à ce que je puisse devenir riche Catholique. Je voudrois bien mander des nouvelles de nostre guerre, mais je ne sai ce que je vous en dois dire, et hormis de marche et remarche, il ne se passe rien de remarquable. Il y a quelque tems qu'on a cru le siege d'Eberenbourg, et il y en a qui croyent que cela se fera encore, quoiqu'il y a fort peu d'aparence. Quoiqu'il en soit cette entreprise n'est d'aucune consequence, car si nous nous en emparons nous n'avons [qu'] une Maison de plus, et il ne merite pas d'en faire tant de bruit. Nous avons pourtant l'honneur de pouvoir dire que nous sommes passés le Rein avec un corps de $\frac{m}{25}$ hommes, mais si l'Ennemi, qui n'est qu'a 8 heures éloigné de nous, sera plus fort que nous, nous ne nous vanterons pas si nous le repasserons aussi vite. Je crois que cette Compagne sera finie pour nous autres, et qu'elle sera aussi heureuse, que toutes les autres. Je trouve la nouvelle que vous me donnés de l'entretien avec le Czar, fort jolie, surplus la dance que vous avés faite avec lui. Je ne doute

nullement de vôtre contenance que vous avés tenuë, et de vôtre gravité. C'est domage qu'il ne soit pas resté quelque temps en vôtre compagnie pour voir la fin de toutes ses extravagances, qu'on n'a pas pû remarquer en si peu de tems. Je finis pour vous assurer que personne ne soit plus

Votre très humble.

Indorsed by Leibnitz.

Roma, 15 *Marzo*, 1698, *del foglietto.*

Il nuntio di Colonia ha scritto al Papa hauerli confessato il fratello dell' Elettore d' Hanover essere Cattolico: ma non voleva esser Vescovo di Osnabrug: et il fratello l' anch' esso cattolico secretamente.

NUGÆ.

68.] H. GREG TO M. DE FALAISEAU.

Elsingen, September 7th, 1697.

Sir,

I return my humble thanks for yours of the 5th, which I had the honour to receive yesternight late, and in answer thereunto can only acquaint you that Bart's squadron did cast anchor at the Col within sight of the Castle of Cronenburgh, and He sent his Son ashore hither, to ask leave to passe, which accordingly He obtain'd, and so came in without any difficulty, and pass'd into the East Sea without stopping at all in the Road. As He pass'd by, He saluted the Castle with three guns in imitation of the English, and was answer'd with as many; and soon after he shot 15 to pay his respects to the King, being in person there, and receiv'd nine guns of thanks from the Castle. The King's Yacht which lay in the Road welcom'd him with 27 guns, to which he return'd thanks by 15. Before He came near, the French Ambassadour went aboard of Him, to pay his respects to the Prince of Conti, and came ashore again as soon as He had pass'd the Castle, but said nothing of the Prince of Conti, who pass'd *incognito*. But 'twas well enough known that the Prince was

on board, not only by the News that arrived the day before of His taking Post for Dunkirk, but by the Ambassadour's going out to meet Him, with Mr Cormallion, and Baronnesse Juel's Brother, (who went aboard too) owns that He spoke with Him, having known Him in France or in the Armies; and 'tis said that if He had stay'd in the Road, the King had order'd three deer and an Oxe to be sent Him as a Present; but perhaps it wou'd have been sent in Bart's name, since the Prince was *incognito:* and I doubt not but 'twas by order, if Admiral Gedde and Vanstucken went on board him at Copenhagen, as you are pleas'd to inform me.

I find 'tis now the generall opinion here that His Party is very strong in Poland, and that His Presence and Money will carry all before Him; nor do I find that they are so sorry for it, as I wou'd have expected. They complain that the Elector's Expedition into Poland was undertaken without their advice or communication, and therefore say that it cou'd not be expected they wou'd take party so far with him, as to pretend to hinder his Competitor's Passage; which if they had been willing to do, Mr Bose arriv'd time enough for to give them occasion to it, namely the night before Bart's arrival, and He delay'd not to notifye his arrival and demand Audience; but He got it not, till the next Evening, after the Squadron was past, which was excus'd because the King went a hunting in the morning, and dined at Micross at His Hunting House, and then underwrit the Letters, that were to be sent away by the Post after His return.

'Twas the discourse here, that there were several thousand landmen on board the ships that came along with the Prince, and the Ministers themselves spoke of two thousand, but they did not at all make it their businesse to informe themselves of that matter, for what I can hear.

'Tis said that Mr Bose goes from hence to Stockholm, which is all the News we have here, so that I shall only beg leave to adde that I am, with much respect, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

H. Greg.

Mr Bose has not been here since Sunday last, so that I suppose He is at Copenhagen. Pardon my hast and my writing in English for that reason.

69.] DE SCHMETTAU TO DE FALAISEAU.

The Hague, September 21st, 1697.

The Ambassadors of Spain, England, and the States met at Ryswick yesterday afternoon, where those of France also were, and after having adjusted and collated their treaties, they gave them to have them copied out clean. I came away myself at ten o'clock, and they will probably have signed between eleven and midnight. A term has been agreed upon till the 1st November to conclude in the interim the treaty with the Emperor and the Empire, on the footing of the declaration of France of the 1st of September, subject however to any changes that may yet be made therein. They have also agreed upon an armistice, general and reciprocal, till the said 1st of November, in which the Empire is comprised. We should have obtained more advantageous conditions, and the preliminaries at least would have been maintained if all the Allies had remained steadfast on the subject; but the Ambassadors of Spain were determined to conclude at any price, and they would have signed separately if those of France would have consented to receive them, without the peace of England and the States being signed at the same time.

P.S.—The peace was signed at a quarter to twelve at night. The Dutch Ambassadors signed first, after them the Spaniards, and then those of England.

This letter is unsigned, but its authenticity cannot be called in question. It is among Falaiseau's papers, is in the hand of Schmettau's secretary, and is one of a series in which Schmettau communicated to Falaiseau the progress of the negotiations at Ryswick.

70.] DE RESKE TO DE FALAISEAU.

Berlin, September 26th, 1697.

Sir,

You may very well believe that people are much annoyed here at the Peace being concluded without the Empire signing at the same time. We were just at Neustadt when the news came, and I can assure you that I never saw the Patron so out of temper as he was when he received it. The King of England throws the fault upon the Imperial Court, which he says openly is in league with France, and that all that it has done is a mere grimace to keep up appearances, because the Emperor likes the equivalent better than Strasburg. I do not think, Sir, that Earl Portland has suffered himself to be taken in by the fair words of the French; it is nothing but the want of confidence which there was between the Allies, and the anxiety of Spain for peace, that forced this conclusion on. But it is to be feared that the fire which is put out in one quarter may break out afresh in another. The affairs of Poland threaten an entire rupture between the two parties, and each is endeavouring to engage his Electoral Highness on its side. Still I think that we shall remain quiet spectators of the scene, and that we shall only choose our side when we think we shall be able to profit by it without running any risk; at least we shall not allow the plunder to be divided, if matters should come so far, without taking our share of it. After all, my dear Sir, *alea jacta est*, and I have made up my mind to marry: the Patron himself has given himself the trouble to ask the young lady's consent, so you may judge by that what the result of the affair will be. However it is neither of the two of whom I spoke to you before, but a third, who is not less wealthy than the others, but has many more good qualities, is of very good family, and has not many relations here. Her name is Wachtmanns, and she is the step-daughter of M. the Aulic-Councillor and Secretary of War, Butte. The Patron approves of my design entirely, and, humanly speaking, I ought to be certain of success; but *multa inter os*

et offam, particularly if scandal should mix itself up with it, of which they are very susceptible here. *Au reste*, Sir, as there is a good deal of gossip here about the affair of our neighbour, although they take her for the daughter of an apothecary, I should be very glad if you would have the goodness to write to me in some detail how the matter has been settled. You will also oblige me by sending your certificate and that of Madame Trampe on that subject, with the passages of the Danish laws relative to marriage, that I may make use of them in case of necessity, and stop people's mouths. This is, Sir, what I expect from your kindness towards me, and I will endeavour to acknowledge this as well as all others which I have received from you. I am, Sir, with all my heart, etc. etc.,

De Reske.

P.S.—I entreat you, Sir, not to say or write to any one in the world about the affair of the "*voisine*."

71.] Christian, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, to the Electress Sophia.

Vienne, le $\frac{2}{12}$ *Octobre*, 1697.

Madame,

Je me suis estonné de voir, par la lettre que Vostre A. Electorale ma fait l'honneur d'escrire, qu'Elle n'auoit pas receu de mes nouuelles depuis mon depart; je n'ay cependant quasy point laissé passer de poste sans l'asseurer de mes tres humbles respects. Je voy par ce que mon frere maximilien a escrit qu'il est tout a fait d'un autre sentiment que moy; parceque ce ne seroyent iamais les biens ny les couronnes quy me feroyent catholique, à moins que ie ne fusse bien persuadé de faire plustost mon Salut en cette Religion qu'en celle où ie suis. Ce n'est pas que ie ne croye qu'on peut aussy aisement estre sauue dans une Religion qu'en l'autre, mais que ioffencerois le bon Dieu en changeant les manieres de l'adorer purement pour l'argent. V. A. E. ne s'estonnera pas

des mensonges qu'on escrit de mon frere Max, quand ie luy diray que beaucoup de gens m'ont demandé si le changement de Religion de Mr l'Electeur de Brunsuic seroit bientost declaré, parcequ'ils croyent qu'il estoit desja Catholique, ce qui a fait que je me suis bien moqué d'eux. On continue tous les iours à porter une image par les rues, qu'on dit qui a pleuré, et à la quelle on attribue la derniere victoire contre les infidelles: et quand la procession est finie on la porte dessus un autel, où on fait beaucoup de prieres. L'Empereur et toute sa cour furent il y a quelques iours de cette ceremonie. Le Prince Ragotzi est icy, quy ma prié de faire ses complimens à V. A. Il m'a dit quelle luy auoit faitt autres foix l'honneur de répondre a ses lettres; et son épouse, qui est une Princesse de Reinfels, se recommende aussi. Il faut que ie finisse, parce que la poste va partir. Je suis tous iours, de V. A. E.

Le tres obeissant Serviteur,

CHRISTIAN.

72.] HEUNISCH TO LEIBNITZ (*Extract*).

Vienna, October $\frac{18}{28}$, 1697.

I tell you, Sir, but in the profoundest secrecy, that my father-in-law, Dr. Hertodt, told me the other day that the Emperor had been asking him about the person of the Princess of Hanover, and that as she is four or five years older than the King, whether this might not prevent the fruitfulness of the succession; there are even persons who dare to put forward, that, as in this line there have been almost exclusively Princesses, and as the father as well as the mother of the aforesaid Princess had been extremely fat, it was to be feared there would be no male succession from this marriage. I have thought it proper to let you know this, as the principal point in this matter; for as to the other intrigues of State and the manœuvres which are set on foot against this marriage, as well by those who envy M. de Salm as those who are for the person

of Mademoiselle d'Orléans,—especially at this moment when the King of France is venturing to claim half the Palatinate,—you will know them already. My father-in-law will devote himself entirely to the party of the most Serene Princess of Hanover; and I can even tell you that if this affair makes progress, as I hope it will, he will doubtless be sent under the rose to gather information respecting the personal constitution of the Princess: their Imperial Majesties having unlimited confidence in him upon this subject.

73]. LEIBNITZ TO HEUNISCH (*Extract*).

Hanover, November $\frac{8}{18}$, 1697.

A M. de Heunisch, Councillor and Agent of the Circle of Suabia, etc.,

I thank you much, Sir, for your news of the questions which the Emperor has put to M. de Hertodt, his principal physician, respecting Mademoiselle the Princess Amalie of Brunswick. I am charmed to learn at the same time the favourable sentiments of your father-in-law upon these questions, although perhaps he has not declared himself yet, and has thought it proper to make inquiries before he explains himself upon matters of such importance. I take however the liberty of telling you, Sir, with regard to the difference of age, that it is not so considerable, but that there are numerous examples of very fruitful marriages where the difference was much greater. It is true the Duke John Frederick was fat, but Mademoiselle the Princess Amalie is not, any more than the Duchess her mother. So that what has been said with regard to her is a false report: it is also untrue to assert that there have been for several generations nothing but Princesses. The thing is obviously false on the paternal side; for the father had three brothers and only one sister, the Queen of Denmark; and also on the grandfather's side, who had as many as six brothers. So, Duke John Frederick had six uncles on the father's side,

even as he was himself the paternal uncle of six nephews and only one niece, the present Electress of Brandenburg. So, Sir, you see there is not the slightest foundation for this judgment on the side of the father, and it is equally false on the side of the mother; for you must know that Monsieur Edward, the Prince Palatine, and grandfather of the Princess, had a son who died in infancy, not of weakness, but by an extraordinary fault of his nurse; and Prince Edward himself had several brothers, for example Charles Louis, the Elector Palatine, Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, and another, the eldest of all, who was drowned. If M. de Hertodt should meet with any other difficulties, I shall be happy to take them off as soon as I am informed of them. However, Sir, I can assure you beforehand that there are few Courts which show more generosity than ours in rewarding services, even much less real than those that can be done us here in a point of so much consequence, etc. etc.

LEIBNITZ.

74.] DR SCHMETTAU TO DE FALAISEAU.

The Hague, November 2nd, 1697.

The treaty of the Emperor and the Empire was signed in the night of the $\frac{30}{31}$. The Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries of the Protestants, and we among them, have not been able to sign on account of a new clause which the Ambassadors of France insisted upon at the moment of the signature, namely that the Catholic Religion shall be maintained *in statu quo* in the countries which they restore to the Empire. This is to authorize all that they have done against the Peace of Westphalia *in ecclesiasticis*, and to subvert its foundations, which are at the same time those of our Union in Germany. They have however admitted, *ad protocollum mediatoris*, that our masters may declare during the term of six weeks, which has been agreed upon for the exchange of the ratifications, whether they will or will not accept the conditions of the said treaty;

and in case of their failing to accept them purely and simply, the war should continue against the recusants, notwithstanding any Articles introduced into the Treaty itself in their favour, which in this case would be taken to have fallen to the ground, the Peace in other respects remaining reciprocally made. The King has informed Monsieur the Councillor Pensionary that if France attempts to oblige the Ministers of the Protestants to sign the Treaty with this article, and will make war upon their masters in case of a refusal, he shall hold his Peace with France for broken. In confidence I may tell you that the Ambassadors of this Crown are a little embarrassed, having believed that it was only necessary to threaten a little to bring the Protestants to order. I will send you their reasons in my next, and am, etc. etc.,

S[CHMETTAU]

P.S.—Your reflections upon the English Treaty are well founded.

The negotiations at Ryswick are contained in the 'Theat. Europe,' vol. xv.; for the particular fact to which this letter of Schmettau refers, see the Protest of the Swedish Ministers Bonde and Lillienroth, in page 188 of that volume.

75.] LEIBNITZ TO ANTON ULRICH, DUKE OF WOLFENBÜTTEL.

Hanover, November 6th, 1697.

Monseigneur,

I must very humbly thank your S. H. for the copies of the description of the grand festival which has been celebrated at your Court to solemnize the public wishes, to which I join my own with all my heart, praying God to give us many more similar occasions for rejoicing on the subject of your S. H. This time we may thank him that the change is much more for the better than the worse, so that we have still some rays

of hope left. I have sent Count Palmieri a copy of the description; he has charged me to express his deep gratitude. I most humbly thank your S. H. for the kindness which you will have in keeping my word for me about good Dr. Schmidt, who deserves it well. I have seen a copy of the Peace signed at Ryswick, between the Emperor and France. It is very obscure and very captious, and especially contrary to the interests of the Protestants. If it is carried into effect without modification, it will make a great breach in the Peace of Westphalia and in the security of the Protestant religion. There is all the more reason to think of counsels conformable to the ideas of your S. H. on this subject. I have written a little to M. de Spannheim about it, as much as it was advisable to say, and I have added, that I did it with the approbation of your S. H., which in fact you were pleased to grant me. M. de Spannheim answers, that he has spoken about it to M. de Danckelmann, and that he will tell me more on his road, for he expects to pass through this town on his journey to France, where he will resume his post on the part of the Elector his Master. I am, Monseigneur, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

76.] CHRISTIAN, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK, TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

Madame,

La poste passee iay receu une lettre fort uieille qui reuennoit d'Hongrie, ou V. Altesse Electorale m'a faitte l'honneur de mender qu'Elle a eue la bonté de peÿer a leifman l'argent qu'il m'auoit auansé depuis mon depart d'Hannouer, et au iour dhuy iay eu l'honneur den receuoire une autre, ou il y hauoit inseré ce que mes iens ont leue et signies pour renuoyier mes pages et mes ualets de pies en transiluanie, quand ie suis alle a hanoure, et ce que le cherurgien a signie pour son uoyage, ce quy ma tout este mis en conte et ce que i'examineray encore une foy quand le Maitre d'Autel sera reuenu d'Hongrie. V. A. E. a la plus grande bonte du monde de me faire tants

de graces, et mon unique satisfaction a tousiours estée de uoire les bontes qu'Elle a pour moy: Mais Elle me parle dans une de ses lettres d'un suget sy delicat et sy difficille qu'il me fait toutes les peines du monde quand i'y pense. Elle me dit toutes les raisons qu'on puisse diere sur cette matiere, et me conseille de signier ce qu'on ueut de moy. Mais ie la prie de considérer que sy i'auois eu le malheur de perdre mon Frere Maximilien contre les Tartares, come on y a uu beaucoup daparence la campagnie passée, iaurois eu en signiant ce qu'on ueut de moy 12 milles escus de rente, come iay desia eue du uiuant de Mr mon Pere, au lieu d'une pretention que personne ne donneroit pour 3 Millions de reuenu sy il l'auoit. Au reste ie fais la mesme reflection que V. A. E., et crois que mon Frere Maximilien uiuera plus longtems que moy et qu'il aura des enfans: cependant cela n'est pas asseuré, et mesme si il en hauoit 5 ou 6 ils pouroyent tous mourire dans une armée ou de la petite uerole ou dautres meaux, parcequ'il y a milles accidents qui peuuent arriuer a tout le monde. Oucy ie prie tres humblement V. A. E. de permettre que ie ne me precipite en rien. Qu'Elle aye la bonté de considérér come on distingue a present les souuereins deuant les Cadets: les uns pretendent de fauteulles aupres des Rois et de l'Empereur, quy sont souuant obliges de rechercher leurs allianses, au lieu qu'un Gentilhomme pour peu qu'il aye de charges il pretent d'aller deuant un Pr. Cadet. Je scay bien que V. A. E. diera que toustes ses reflections ne seruent de rien et qu'il ne faut pas se rendre plus miserable qu'on est; i'y ayouteray moy mesme que le plus fort a tousiours raison, et que celuy la fait les loix. Mais il est mal aise de se resoudre si uite a une chose si rude: Je ne doute pas de ce que Uostre A. E. me mende, quy est qu'on se soucie fort peu de moy a Hannoure et quon y scra bien aise de ne me rien enuoyer; leifman a aussy deffendu a son corespondant de m'auancer de l'argent, ce que Mr les ministres luy auront sans doute ordonnés, parceque i'ay deuant tousiours eu bon credit chez luy; mes iens sont le plus a pleindre en cela, parceque ie ne pouray leurs peyer les gages ny ce qu'ils ont de besoin pour s'en retourner chez eux. Hattorf m'a promis de faire reuenniere Mr Ber, et ie l'en ay fait resou-

uenniere sans qu'il y aye fait de reponce, de maniere qu'il faudera que ie soye magnifique par force en entretennant les iens de mon frére. Depuis que ie suis de retour d'Hongrie ie n'ay pas dine deux foix chez moy, parce qu'il y a icy une compagnie de 12 ou 13 personnes qui se traitent tour a tour, qui me mettent tousiours de la partie: on s'y diuertit bien, mais il faut tousiours menger iusques a 7 heures du soire, et boire la sante du Roy et de la Reine Epouse et de tous les grands Princes de l'Europe, ce qu'on n'ause pas refuser en ce peys icy. Cela m'a empeche d'escriere plus souuant a V. A. E. come Zersen en aura desia fait les excuses a V. A. E. La Reine de Polognie partiera demein d'icy celon qu'on le dit. Toutes les dames l'ont estees uoire, lesquelles sont fort contentes d'Elle. C'est une Princesse quy a beaucoup d'esprit et quy sait fort bien uiure. Elle se conserue encore beaucoup pour son age, mais ie ne crois pas qu'Elle aye estee iamais belle. Le Cardinal d'arquin a 97 ans, quy se porte encore fort bien et quy dit d'hauoire encore une Maitresse. Le Pr. iacob resemble a Mapuseau come deux goutes d'eau, et parle come une Marionette en changeant dans une sillabe 2 ou 3 fois de ton; mais le Prince allexandre est fort bien fait et a beaucoup d'esprit, et le pr. Constantin ne parle quasi iamais. L'enuoyé de france les pria dernierement a diner; ils luy dierents quils se feroyent beaucoup de plaisir d'y uenniere, mais l'Enuoyé les attendit iusques a trois heures apres diner sans qu'ils uinrents: a la fein il leur enuoya son carosse, sur quoy ils se fierent excuser et dierent au pr. de Darmstadt qu'ils auroyent bien uoullus estre du Diner: mais qu'ils hauoyent crus que puis qu'ils estoyent estrangers que M^r^ l'Enuoye deuoit les uennir querir luy mesme pour les amenner chez luy. Vn autre iour le Comte thun, quy est icy conseiller priue, les pria aussy a diner, a quy il est arriue la mesme chose, de quoy on rit beaucoup icy. Je suis tousiours, auec tous les respects imaginables, de V. A. E.

Le tres humble et le tres obeissant seruiteur,

CHRISTIAN.

Hannoure, le 5 Decemb.

77.] CHRISTIAN, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG, TO LEIBNITZ.

Mard. le 13 *Decemb.* [1697].

Monsieur,

J'ay receu deux de uos lettres à la foix, et je uous suis bien obligé des souhaits que uous me faittes dans l'une, et les nouuelles que uous me mendes dans l'autre. Vous pouues estre asseure que iestime autant qu'on le peut uostre amitie, que ie uous prie de me conseruer. Vous nauroy rien pu trouuer d'extraordinaire dans la lettre que iay escrite à Mad. l'Electrice, parceque mes sentimens sur la Religion ne sont point à la mode, et qu'il y a plus de peisans et de pauures iens qui les ont de mesme, que de iens de qualité. Mr Swartzkopf n'a esté qu'une iournée à Vienne, et il a eu tant d'affaires, qu'il aura oublié de rendre uostre pacquet à Mr de Bertram. Dabord que ie le reueray ie le luy feray rendre et le porteray auec moy à Vienne. Le Landgraue de Hesse, leueque de Wurtzburg et le Duc de Wirtemberg, onts proposés des troup à l'Emp: et on fait continuellement dautres proiets pour hauoir des trouppes, sy bien que l'Emp: n'en manquera pas l'année prochenne. Le General Stirum ira tousiours en pollognie, ce qui est un signe qu'on croit que le Pr. de Conti fera une seconde tentatiue en Pollognie. Je suis cependant icy auec Mr. les Transsillueins, qui mengent et boiuent toutes la iournée. Il y en a bien parmy eux daussy plaisants que des Moscouites; quelques uns sont fort raffinés, parce qu'il y en a dix ou douze, qui ont le gouuernement de la prouince, quy font contribuer tout le peis pour l'entretien des trouppes, et eux en tierent tousiours leurs part si bien qu'ils s'enrichissent seuls, et tout le peis s'apauvrit. Je ne vous fais point de description du peis, parceque uous pouues la liere dans le petit lieure que ie uous enuoye. Je suis

Vostre très affectionné

CHRISTIAN,

Duc de Br. et de Luneburch.

78.] CHRISTIAN, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK, TO LEIBNITZ.

[1697.]

Monsieur,

Je uous suis fort obligé de ce que vous m'aués bien voulu mender l'ettat de la santé de Mons. l'Electeur. J'estois bien faché quand j'ay sceu qu'il estoit en si grand danger, mais ce qui me console c'est qu'il se porte mieux. On ne parle continuellement ici que des affaires de Pollognie. Si la nouuelle qu'on dit est veritable, il n'y aura pas une longue guere; parce qu'on dit que Sopia ueut se declarer du coté de l'Electeur de Saxe, qui est un des plus puissens du Royaume, puisqu'il est marechal de Littuanie. Je ne doute pas que la france ne fasse tous ces efforts pour conserver ce Marechal de son coste, affin d'allumer une Guere in Pollogne, pour empecher l'Empereur de faire de plus grand progrés en Hongrie. Ce qui seroit grand domage: parce que si l'Emp: n'auoit pas besoin d'enuoyer des trouppes en pollognie, il pouvroit hauoire l'année quy vient la plus belle armée du monde; puisque la paix avec la France est signée et qu'il poura hauoir autant de trouppes de l'Empire qu'il uoudera, à moins que l'argent ne luy manque. Je m'imagine que ie uerray une grande quanteté de francoys à l'Armée, la campagnie quy uient, ce qui diuertiera beaucoup, parce qu'ils sonts de très bonne compagnie. à present ie ne fais autres chose que d'aller le matin à la cour, le midy quelques fois en gaste et le soire aux assemblées, où il faut tousiours iouer auec les dames. Je ne puis plus rien uous mender; ie uous prie de conseruer quelque amitié pour moy, et de me croire M^r^

Vostre très affectionné

CHRISTIAN.

79.] BENEDICTA, DUCHESS OF BRUNSWICK, TO LEIBNITZ.*

d'Hernhausen, ce 19 *de iuillet* [1694].

'Il est arriues vne asses plaisante auanture a la reponse que

The letters numbered 79, 80, 81 have been unfortunately misplaced, but the dates will show where they ought to come.

i'auez faitte a la lettre que uous m'aues ecritte sur le concile de trante. On la enuoye a paris sans y songer auec mes autres lettres, mais ie ne laisseray pas de vous dire encore que comme ie ne suis point asses habile pour parler sur vne matiere aussy delicate, qu'est celle là, ie lay enuoyeé a mad. de brinon. Elle est, toute dispute à part, sy belle et d'une eloquence qui merite bien d'estre mise au nombre de celles qui ont desia ete receues auec tant daprobation. Je ne doute pas que monsieur de meaux* ny reponde auec plaisir, quoyque dans des sentiments ie croy un peu differents. Je souhaite de tout mon coeur que vous vous trouuies vn jour dans les mesmes; cepandant ie vous prie d'estre persuades que lon ne sauroit auoir vne plus grande estime pour vous que iay, et que ie seres rauie de pouuoir rencontrer quelque occasion de vous la tesmoigner.

BENEDICTE.†

80.] LEIBNITZ.

Hanover, 30th April, 1694.

Sir,

Although I hope soon to return to Wolfenbüttel, I take the liberty of writing this beforehand, on account of a person who has been very strongly recommended to me by one of my friends; it is a French gentleman named M. de Clairval, who was formerly in the Compagnie d'Ordonnances or Gendarmes de France, which is a select and distinguished corps, and he has since been a Lieutenant of Dragoons in the regiment of Pinsonel; but, being a Protestant, he took his opportunity, when at Neustadt in the Palatinate, to leave the French service. He repaired to the Duke de Lorraine, and was present at the sieges of Mayence and Boorn. This Prince had favourable intentions towards him, but his death has rendered them

* Bossuet.

† Benedicte Henriette Philippine, daughter of Edward, Palatine of the Rhine, was the widow of John Frederick, Duke of Brunswick, the Elector's brother and predecessor on the throne.

of no avail. He was afterwards for a while in the Grand Musketeers of Brandenburg, but as he wishes for a fixed employment, the Prince of Anhalt-Herzigerode gave him some time ago a letter of introduction to Duke Antony Ulrich. However as his Serene Highness at that time had no thoughts of raising any considerable levy of troops, he declined this gentleman's services, though in the most obliging manner and with his accustomed generosity. He has since been at the Court of Holstein Gottorp, where his Serene Highness manifested much goodwill towards him; but not having found any opportunity to be employed, and learning that at present he has a better chance of it at Wolfenbüttel, his wish to serve such generous Princes has brought him back thither; and as it is now the time to employ men who know the trade, and that this gentleman passes for a man who has seen service, and has been recommended to me on that ground, I cannot refrain from giving him a letter of introduction, and have thought that I could not do better than by giving him one to you. I entreat you then, Sir, to busy yourself in his favour. If Colonel Schulemburg is still with you, he will be able to judge of the matter better than anybody, and I entreat you to pay my compliments to him. M. de Clairval tells me that he was acquainted with the Grand Marshal de Crosset; but as he will not be at Wolfenbüttel now, he hopes that your kindness will stand him instead of the acquaintances which he as yet has not there. I am looking out for a worthy successor to the late M. Lauterbach. I have had various notices given me, but I should be glad to manage the matter so that his Serene Highness might have a choice, and I think that this will soon be the case. Pray, Sir, just drop a word or two of this, in order to mark my devotion.

They say that the Elector of Saxony is in danger of his life on account of the smallpox, which it seems he has taken from the Countess; for Mr. Stepney, the English Envoy, writes to me from Dresden that the Elector's love was so violent that he would not stir from her even when her illness was at the very worst, and that he even insisted upon eating with her,

although he himself had never had the disorder. So tender a passion deserves not to have been mixed up with circumstances so extraordinary and so fatal. There is a new comedy here called 'La Bourgeoise à la Mode,' which has made some noise in France. I will try to have it if I can. One may say that there is something in it that has reference enough to Boileau's satire against women. I have read M. Perraut's answer, which seems to me not to be despised; however I see that the ladies themselves are not altogether content with their advocate: he praises them in their quality of good housewives, but they would like to be praised as heroines. If you have any news I entreat you to communicate them, and I am, with zeal, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

The son of your Signor Plazer might perhaps one day be the thing for me, if he only knew a little French. Will you be good enough to tell his father so.

81.] DE LA FOULERESSE TO DE FALAISEAU.

London, June 8th, 1694, *O.S.*

I know too well what I owe you, and have too fresh a recollection of the friendship you have shown me, Sir, not to express to you the gratitude which I feel for it. If I dared ask any favour of you, it would be the happy continuance of your friendship, and I flatter myself that your generosity and civility will stretch as far as that. You will no doubt have heard from Mr. Walter the history of our voyage and the dangers to which we have been exposed; we were in luck to have embarked on board the King's yacht, for in any other ship we should have passed our time ill enough. We have been in this town now for a fortnight. I have seen the most of your friends there, to whom I have paid my respects, particularly the family of M. Mouginot, which still retains an agreeable remembrance of you. My Lord Montague has been in the country for the last month; I was told yesterday that he was

returned, and I shall not fail to go and see him in your name as soon as possible. Madame Elund died last week of the malady her husband bequeathed her; she is universally regretted.

The fleet which started ten days ago from St. Helen's has ever since had a favourable wind for the Mediterranean, for which a detachment of forty-eight ships is intended; the remainder, eighty-five ships of the line, is to make an expedition to the coasts of France with the troops on board. It is much feared that this detachment will arrive too late, and that the French will have struck their blow in Catalonia before the fleet comes up, and this fear has increased since it has become known that the Spaniards have been beaten near Girona. Everything here is in a very quiet state; not a word more is spoken of the Jacobites, and that party is entirely undone. The treasury overflows with money, and never was so much of it seen before. The lottery was filled up four months sooner than was expected, and the Bank will to all appearance be made up quite as fast. I wrote to Mr. Greg from the Hague, to tell him that I had had the honour of paying my duty to the King, and that Mr. Blathwayt had done me a thousand civilities on his part; I have had the same advantage with Her Majesty, so that I hope I am entirely reconciled here, which may be a step towards that which I have been led to hope, and I flatter myself, Sir, that you will strike some blow in the matter. The King of England has demanded Pauli's recall. I do not know the reason; and our Court has refused him the title of resident, so that he is only considered here as the agent of the merchants, and is not received at Court at all. If a favourable resolution in my affair is not come to speedily, I shall have the honour of seeing you in August. Count Rantzen will remain here somewhat longer. M. de Molesworth carries his head very high on the subject of his book.* Far from disavowing it, he prides himself upon it, and never was story more in fashion. One on Sweden has appeared lately, written by Mr. Robinson, which is much es-

* History of Denmark.

teemed. I will send it or bring it you. Let me know anything you want, and be persuaded, Sir, that I will execute all your commissions with the greatest pleasure, and that I am, etc. etc.,

De la Fouleresse.

P.S.—If you are inclined to honour me with your letters, be good enough to address them to M. Beseler, the Danish Consul. I send this one to Mr de Schmettau.

82.] Heünisch to Leibnitz.

Vienna, January $\frac{15}{25}$*th*, 1698.

Sir, my Master,

As you will have been able to judge from my preceding advices of the sincere and faithful devotion which I bear to the service of the Serene House of Brunswick, I have chosen not to fail in continuing my reports, in order to let you know with sincerity that the enviers of this alliance advance, that Madame the Princess Amalie has a great fault in her eyes; and I can tell you and assure you of it in confidence, that the Emperor himself has told my father-in-law of it, adding, that she was besides very broad shouldered, which led to very difficult confinements, as the children generally take after the mother, and the more so as our King is so also, to the extent, if one may venture to say so, of being a little humpbacked; in short, the partisans of the other faction, especially the Danish, which begins just now to be in fashion, throw every sort of obstacle in the way. . . . I must also tell you that H.E.H. the Prince Palatine negotiates with all his might for the Princess of Denmark, sending courier upon courier on this errand; but the Fathers of Jesus, who are in our interests, have known already how to show the danger of taking a Princess not brought up as a Catholic. If I might venture to give advice in such an affair, it would be, to have it well impressed upon Her Majesty the Empress, that the Most Serene Princess Amalie will be entirely devoted to her interests, and that she will not fail to

favour to the utmost the House of Neuburg against all who, after the Emperor's decease, might attempt to take advantage of it; this is the main point, for, as it is said that the King is not overmuch upon his mother's side, this Princess looks out for support, and no doubt desires on that account a daughter-in-law after her own fashion. There are also people who envy the Prince of Salm, who in their fear of his influence oppose this alliance, and principally the Bohemian faction; but if the Empress could be shown that the Princess Amalie was entirely devoted to her interests, it would be just the means to establish the "Chimum Ministerium" (which the Empress meant to do at the time when our poor friend Boineburg got his repulse about the Vice-Chancellorship), it might make a great hole in the game, and I am persuaded that it would be the winning-stroke, etc. etc.,

H.

83.] KING JAMES II. TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.*

St. Germains, March [6*th*], 1698.

I hope you will easily do me so much right as to beleve, I was sensibly touched at the great losse you have made, for tho' it has been long since you had reason to expect it, yett a good wife can never be so prepared as not to be sensibly afflicted when it happens, and you will have had great need of true Christian resignation, to beare it with any pacience. I hope God will preserue you and all yours, and euer make you happy in this world, as well as in the other, none can desire it more then myself wch desire you to beleue, as being so neerly related to you, and being very acknowlidging for all the marks of esteeme and kindness you have so offten shewd me, you may always rely on the continuance of myne.

JAMES R.

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* Ernest Augustus, titular Elector of Hanover, and Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, after a long and severe illness, died on the 13th of January, 1698.

84.] MARIA ELEONORA OF ESTE TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

à St. Germains ce 6 Mars, 1698.

Je uous prie de trouuer bon, que sans aucun compliment, mais auec beaucoup de uerité, et de sincerité, ie uous assure de la part que je prends à la grande perte que uous uenés de faire, la proche parentée qui est entre nous, et uostre merite personel m'obligent tellement à cela, que jespere pouuoir aisement vous le persuader; cependant j'ay prié Madame, à qui j'ay milles obligations, qui a le meilleur coeur du monde, et qui conoist le mien, d'augmenter le nombre de mes obligations en respondant des sentiments de mon coeur à uostre égard, et en m'aidant à uous conuaincre, que l'on ne peut pas auoir une plus parfaite estime, ny une plus sincere amitié, que celle que i'ay pour uous.

MARIA R.

85.] ANTON ULRICH, DUKE OF BR. WOLFENBÜTTEL, TO BARON V. D. SCHULENBURG:

Wolfenbüttel, 22*nd March*, 1698.

Sir,

By the letter which you wrote to me on the 20th, and your relation of the same date, I have seen what took place at the audience of M. Bothmar, and the conversations which you have since had with the Ministers. I am pleased to tell you on this subject, that I am highly satisfied with the exactness with which you keep me informed of all it is necessary I should know, and the pains you take to despatch my business, and to recommend it in every quarter which is requisite. I have no doubt that you will continue the same as long as you have any opportunity. For the present it will be necessary to represent to the Ministers of the King, that I continue to place much reliance upon the firmness and the disposition which they have hitherto shown not to agree to the establishment of

the ninth Electorate, and to the prejudicing of the Princes of the Empire by a way so manifestly opposed to the constitution of the Empire, and particularly to the provisions of the Peace of Münster and Westphalia, which His Majesty promised to guarantee; and no doubt in France they will be well-informed of one of the conditions of the treaty which Hanover has made with the Emperor, or rather with the House of Austria, to lend him every sort of assistance when the Spanish succession shall come in question; they will therefore recognize how necessary it will be in that case to prepare for them some diversion or other in this quarter, and principally to prevent the combination of the Duchies of Zell and Hanover; to which his Majesty is moreover engaged by very particular reasons, having undertaken on the part of Zell the guarantee of the Treaty of Hildesheim, concluded in 1665, and which was then negotiated by M. de Humbres, a Minister of the King, by which the Dukes of Zell and Hanover engaged by a solemn oath to observe the testament of the late Duke George their father, and not to unite the States of the two Duchies. There can be no doubt that Prince Maximilian also understands his true interests at this moment, when the death of the late Duke his father having taken place before that of the Duke of Zell, has placed him in altered circumstances; and there is no probability that he will come to be present at the publication of the will, but that he will rather think how he may take his measures well for the future, and seek for himself some support to maintain his rights and pretensions. It is true that the Minister of Zell, who is entirely devoted to the interests of the Court of Hanover, does all he can to prevent the designs which this Prince might form, and to take from him all the aids that he might hope to obtain; he tries therefore, among the rest, to bring us also over to their party by sideways, but I shall find the means to prevent the success of these, and to bring my brother back to good principles; nevertheless they continue to solicit him, and above all to throw obstacles in the way of the renewal of our alliances with Denmark and Münster. You

will therefore do well to let the King's Ministers know that it will be necessary to have the Bishop a little pressed not to delay any longer the renewal of our alliances. I have sent to the same purpose an express to Münster to inform them of all that is passing on that subject. *Au reste*, you will take an express opportunity of telling MM. de Pompone and De Torcy that I feel myself very much obliged to them for the affection that they show for the interests of my house. I entreat them to be pleased to support them by their credit with the King, and to preserve his Majesty's friendship for me. As for the Dutch journey, I should have forgotten it altogether if you had not spoken about it; I never gave it a serious thought, and if I had something said about it to M. de B. R., it was only as a compliment of civility to let him know the desire that I had to see him, if it had been possible, *en passant* on his journey into Holland, for I confess that I have had much confidence in this Minister, and in the sincerity of his conduct. I hope however that M. de Heron will be in the same good disposition. I have already all the esteem which is due to his deserts, and tell him that it will be a pleasure to me to be able to give him proofs of it when he shall come hither. And you yourself may be persuaded that I shall always have much gratitude for your services, and you shall find, when occasion offers, that I am, with particular passion, Sir, etc. etc.,

ANTOINE ULRIC.

86.] LEIBNITZ TO BENEDICTA, DUCHESS OF BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG.

April $\frac{8}{18}$, 1698.

Madame,

My correspondent at Vienna has informed me from time to time of what is going on there, and how they have advanced all sorts of ridiculous scandal respecting the constitution of M. the Princess, to whom they have given sore eyes, a swollen throat, broad shoulders, and a dumpy body. I have sent a

distinct relation to contradict these absurdities, which indeed mutually destroy one another. A physician of Innsbruck, a Dr. Holler, who had seen the Serene Princess, being come to Vienna on business of his own, Dr. Hertodt, my correspondent's father-in-law, was ordered to make inquiries of him, and Mr. Holler made a very favourable report, which Dr. Hertodt repeated word for word to their Imperial Majesties. This was all the more satisfactory, because there could be no sort of suspicion of Dr. Holler. However M. Guarelli has also done justice to the deserts of Madame la Princesse: he has said that she had both body and mind the best formed in the world, and particularly that he had himself seen her read very small writing; and he has added to this the certificate of a doctor that she has never had any illness, and the Emperor expressed some little scruple about this certificate.

And now some evil-disposed people, not knowing what further to say, have put forward that both the Empress and the Ministry had reason to be afraid of your Serene Highness as being a very intriguing woman, and one who would insist upon residing at Vienna; but I hope that these will be the last efforts of a fruitless calumny. They begin now and then to talk again of the Princess of Anspach; but it is hoped that the Emperor will remain steadfast in the determination which they say he has formed not to give his son a Convertite.* And as for the Princess of Guastalla, although the *foglietti* have talked a good deal about it, and even gone as far as to say that both Italy and France are beginning to be jealous of this projected marriage (as if the King of the Romans would through it obtain a claim on the succession of Mantua), it does not seem to me that this Princess can bring any great succession with her. She has a brother, and even if he were to die, the Monferrat does not go to the branch of Guastalla;

* The Princess of Anspach here mentioned is George the Second's Queen, Caroline, subsequently the favourite pupil and friend of Leibnitz, who was evidently at this time not aware that there was no chance of her conversion. It was attempted to bring her over to Romanism but she steadfastly declined even an imperial crown upon those terms The daughter of the Duchess of Modena was a born Catholic.

and as for Mantua, if it does go to the daughters, there are some nearer than the Princess of Guastalla; while, if it does not go to the daughters, the Princess herself has no part in it.

My friend also assures me that the inclination of the King i ever constant, and that his Majesty the other day, showing some disinclination to take his physic, Dr. Hertodt said to him laughing that he ought to take it for the sake of her he knew of, and he took it directly. Dr. Hertodt knows nothing of the correspondence which his son-in-law keeps up with me, whose letters I treat with great caution, in order neither to get him nor his father-in-law into a scrape; but it is no want of discretion to communicate them to your Serene Highness. I wish I could prove my zeal in a more efficient manner; the kindness which your Serene Highness, with MM. the Duchess and Princess your daughters, have but lately shown me in the honour of your letters would be sufficient to engage me, had I not been long entirely won, being ever with devotion, Madam, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

87.] MAXIMILIAN, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

Viene, le 24 *May*, 1698.

Madame,

V. A. E. m'excusera si je esté si logn temps sans la assurer des mes respects tres humbles; la cause a esté la sterilité des nouvelles que je ne point eu matiere de rien mender à V. A. E. d'ici. L'Empereur est presentemen a Laxenbourg, ou il se divertit avec sa foconnerie. Ilia environ 8 jours que le Duc de Loreine, qui est presentemen Evesque d'Osnabruc, a pris l'investiture d'el Evesché d'Olmitz. On parle ici beaucoup de la Paix avec les Turcs, est on dit, que les Ambassadeurs Turks vienderont sur les confines des teres de L'Empereur, est l'Ambassadeur de Venisé a recu ordre de la Republique d'i assister. Pour le mariage du Roy mon maistre, on en parle differenmen;

pour moi je souhaiterai, que la Princesse Amalie puisse dire le Roi me la fort bien fait; je remercie aussi V. A. E. de la grace qu'elle m'a faite de me faire avancer l'organ des mes recrues, don je lui seré redevable toute ma vie. Pour mes finances, sont dan l'estat que V. A. E. se peut imaginer, qui est dans l'estat ordinaire. Je prie V. A. E. de me conserver ses bonnes graces, est d'estre persuadé que je suis, Madame,

De V. A. E.:

tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur,

MAXIMILIEN GUILLEAUME.

88.] BENEDICTA, DUCHESS OF BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG, TO LEIBNITZ.

Modene, le 29 *de May*, [1698?]

Je ne scay sy ie nay point repondu desia a la derniere lettre que vous m'auez ecritte en m'enuoyant la lettre du medecin qui vous a ecrit de vienne; iay toutiours tant de lettres a repondre quil faut vn peu excusser sy iy manque quelques fois, cepandant ie vous assure que ie ressens extremem le zel et lattachem que vous temoignes p^r^ les interets de ma fille, a qui ie nay pas manques de le bien dire; nous sauions desia tout ce que la malignite des mals intentionnes p^r^ nous ont put inuanter contre elle, mais dieu mercy ce sont toutes choses sy esloignés de la verite quil nest pas difficille de les conuaincre de faussetes ayand dasses bons tesmoings de plus dun peis, qui ont veu asses souuent la princesse de brunsuic p^r^ que lon ne puisse pas estre persuades que les deffauts quils luy attribuent auroient fait du bruit dans le monde il y a lontems, sy elle en auoit eu le moindre; iespere que pressentem ceux quils lont veu depuis peu dasses près auront dissipes toutes ces impostures la; vous maues fait cepandant bien du plaisir de me faire part des nouvelles que uous en aues eue, dont ie uous remercie de tres bon coeur, et ie uous prie de croire que iay toutiours pour vous monsieur

beaucoup destime, dont ie seray rauie de pouuoir vous donner des marques dans toutes les occasions.

BENEDICTE.

89.] BENEDICTA, DUCHESS OF BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG, TO LEIBNITZ.

A Modene, le 13 *Aout*, 1698 [?7].

Iay bien cru, monsieur leibnus, que vous vous reiouiriés de la naissance du petit prince de modene et que vous prendries vn peu de part a ma ioie, dont ie vous suis fort obligee, et surtout de la maniere dont vous tesmoignes vostre zel sur ce qui regarde ma fille la princesse de brunsuic. Ce qui ne me surprend pas, scachant laffection que vous auies p^r^ monsieur le duc, qui auoit tant destime et sy particuliere pour vous quil est bien naturel lattachem̄ qui vous en reste p^r^ sa famille et toute la maisson. Les soings que vous prenes p^r^ en faire voir lillustre origine ne luy seruira pas encore peu p^r^ en faire paroistre toutes les grandeurs. Vous aues bien fait dans parler aux enuoyes, mais il y a icy une pere benedictin, qui est bibliotequaire et que lon dit estre fort scauant, qui poura vous en donner de meilleurs eclaircissem̄ que ces messieurs la; il sappelle le pere bachini qui a fait mesme des liures, ie croy dantiquite, et sur tout cette matilde dont on parle tant. Aureste vous aues trouues a repondre a merueille sur la malignite que lon a ete trouuer contre ma fille; et ce henry le bastard roy de castille estoit tout a propos p^r^ oposer a nostre grandpere le pape, dont on nous accuse de descendre; iauoue que ie n'aues iamais ouy parler de cette sainte descendence la; apres cela nous deurions faire des miracles, mais ie mestonne que lon n'ait pas ete plus scandallisses de voir un religieux parler de ces choses la. Enfin ie vous prie destre persuades que lon ne scauroit auoir plus destime pour vous ny plus sincere que iay.

BENEDICTE.

90.] MAXIMILIAN WILLIAM, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG, TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

Du Camp de Peskeretz, le 23 *7bre*, 1698.

Madame,

Les occupations est l'indisposition que je eu pour quelque temps ne m'ajan pas permis de m'aquiter de mon devoir en donnan part a V. A. E. de mon estat, elle n'aura pas trouve mauvais, que je laie fait faire par Gerbrant, par quellques ordinaires. Le 7me je suis parti de Viene, est apres un voyage de 3 jours de temps je me suis rendu al Armée, qui campa a Peskeretz, ou elle se trouue encor al l'heur quil est. Elle est belle est assé nombreuse, non seulemen pour faire teste aus enemis, mais aussi d'entreprendre quelque chose; cet domage que la saison soit trop avancée, est qu'on aye pas pris plutost les mesures pour faire entrer les troupes en campagne, car on auroit facilité par là la paix, ou on aspire avec tan d'ampressemen, les Ambassadeurs estan, comme on dit, en chemein pour donné l'ouverture a ce traite. Quoi qui en soit, on n'i fait pas des reflexions ici al armee, il ne menque que l'occasion pour faire valoir la bonne volonté que nous avons pour le service de l'Empereur; jusque ici il ia fort peu d'apparance de la mettre en œuvre, puisque l'Armee des Turcs est encor dan son vieux camp vers Belgrad, de l'autre coté de la Save, sans faire mine de vouloir passer le pont qu'ils ont dressé a Samandria, de sorte qui nia pas d'apparence de tirer des avantages cette campagne, si ce nest pas la paix d'ont on doit attendre l'essue. Le 17me le Prince de Savoy fit marcher toute la Cavallerie, consistan en $\frac{m}{12}$ chevaux sur l'avi quil avoit d'un Coloncl des Hussares nome Paul diac, que une partie des Tartares de $\frac{m}{6}$ chevaux estoit en chemein de transporter quantite de munition de gere que de bouche dan Temisvar; est quoi qu'on n'aye rien negligé pour les rancontrer, ajan marché nuit est jour 3 jours duran, nous n'avons pourtan pas este assé heureux de reussir dans ces desseins, les barbares ajant gagné trop de chemein, de sorte que nous ne pouvions plus les atteindre; cepandan nous les avons poursuivi jusque a la dite place, ou nous

eumes une pettit rencontre; les Hussares estan avancé, jusque à la porté de leur canon, ils firent une sortie environ de $\frac{m}{2}$ chevaux, pour les attaquer, ce qui firent avec tel succes que les Husares furent repoussé. Le Prince de Savoy, vojan cet desordre, fit avancer le Piquet pour les soutenir. Pour tel effet le Colonel Vobone avanca avec tou le Piquet, qui avoit eu presque le meme sort, si je ne serois pas venu le soutenir avec les troupes que je commendé; on le repoussa don avec bien de vigeur, en les poursuivan jusque au fossé de la palanque, de sorte que cette rencontre se termina avec perte de 80 Tartares est 30 des notres entre morts est blessés, est apres une marche de 3 jours nous sommes revenu au camp. Panden nostre absance il faut que l'Enemi en aye este averti, une partie des Tartares de $\frac{m}{5}$ chevaux est venu jusque a nostre camp nous enlever 200 beuf, 7 chevaux, plusieurs famme est hommes qui gardoit les bestiaus a la pature. Quand a lassignation pour le remboursement de ce que V. A. E. a eu la bonté de m'avancer pour les chevau de remonte, je ne peu pas lui dire autre chose, si non que l'Empereur ne m'a pas encor paijé le reste de ce qui m'est du; cependan elle peut bien estre persuadé que ce n'est pas ma faute, si je ne paije pas mes debtes. Je suis avec un profond respect, Madame, de V. A. E.

tres humble est tres obeissan serviteur,

MAXIMILIEN GUILLEAUME.

91.] HACKEMANN TO LEIBNITZ.

London, d. 10 *Decemb.*, 1698.

Sir,

After having given myself the honour to write to you, I am now so bold as to send you an English letter, because My lord Bishop of Salisbury has told me that you understand this language very well. The English, who doe not much affect the latin tongue, have forced me to explain myself in my discourse and conversation in their own idiome, and have brought me so far, that they can discover my meaning, when I talke and write in it. Mr Tyrrel, who has a great deal con-

tributed to this my small progress, will be very much obliged to you, if you will tell me in a line or two, how the Electress Dowager has received his book. He is now very busy about publishing the second volume of His History, in which he makes a very honourable mention of the Electoral family, having given a fine description of Henry the Lion, in the reign of King Henry the second. I cant forbear quoting this passage of this English Historian. I shall, says he, speak no more of this Duke Henry, who for the greatness of his spirit was surnamed the Lion; but that, being thus deprived of his Dominions, he would never obtain an entire restitution of them, onely some years after, the Emperor restored unto him that part of his territories, containing the Dutchies of Hanover, Zell, and Wolffenbuttel, the present Dukes of which are linealy descended from that Duke Henry by Mathilda, Daughter of Henry the II^{d}, King of England. Thus much I thought fit to insert out of a particular honor to that ancient house, which has offered the world great Emperors, besides so many gallant Princes, and particularly the present George Lodovic, Elector of Brunswik, who being the Son of that most accomplisht Princess Sophia, Electress Dowager, who by her near relation to the Royal blood of England, hath again renewed the ancient Alliance between that and this most illustrious Family. After this I have read an old Manuscript, in which I found these remarquable words: Henry Lyon fleed in England to his brother in Law, King Richard the first, who made him Governour of Normandy, and gave him the arms thereof, which the Dukes of Brunswik doe beare at this day.

Baker in his Chronicle makes mention of two Dukes of Brunswik, one of which sent letters to intreat a marriage with the Lady Mary, Daughter of Henry the eight; the other made a league with Queen Elizabeth. These letters and the answers to them are to bee found here, if you have them not in your custody. Besides I cannot omitt testifying to you the great desire which Dr Smith has to see the last Edition of your Sinica Novissima, and the Catalogue of all the books you have put out. Dr Bentley, who is now about printing

Justyn Martyr with his notes, and several Latin Authors, will be very glad if he can serve you in any thing. He has a fine old Manuscript in the King's Library, which can furnish some treaties to insert in your volumes Juris diplomatici. Mr Riemers is very curious to see your last volum of the said book. Pray, Sir, do him the favour to send it him, if you have occasion.

Having sent you the Privileges of Lubek, I now joyn another document concerning some of the same Town Merchants, which I took out of the Archivs in the Tower.

To finish my letter, I cant sufficiently tell you how much the learned English admire your great genius, and wish heartily, that you may live a great while to make all sorts of learning more flourishing. As for me I esteem myself very happy to be of that Country which has so long time enjoy'd you, and very likely will have, after you have lived a long and happy life, the honour of your funerall.

I am, with all imaginable respect, Sir,
Your most humble and
Most obedient Servant,
FRIDERICK AUGUST HAKEMAN.

92.] AMALIE, DUCHESS OF BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG, TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

A Modene, ce 8 *ianuier* [1699].

Jay eu lhonneur, madame, de receuoir deux lettres de V. A. E., l'vne par la poste, et lautre de Mr guerini, ou jay reconu auec une sansible ioye la continuation des bontees qui luy ont fait me souhaiter touiours si obligeament le bonheur ou je me trouue presantement; ie noserois cepandant couenir encore auec elle du iugemant quelle fait de moy, mais ie ne laiseray pas de luy aduouer que ie me trouue bauconp plus heureuse par tout ce que ientans dire du roy et par les santimants quil ma fait lhonneur de faire paroitre pour moy,

que ie regarde come le vray fondemant de mon bonheur que par le grand rang que ie vais auoir. Je nay point encore ouy parler de la contesse de fels, mais il sufit que V. A. E. veuille lhonorer du nom de son amie pour que iaye vne tres grande estime pour elle; ien ay baucoup aussi pour la contesse de piquebourg et seray fort aise de la voire a viene, mais V. A. E. me done bien vne autre esperance en me disant que Mad. Elec^ce^ de Brandebourg pouroit venir a Prague, qui seroit bien agreable et feroit bien souhaiter le couronemant de limperatrice. Elle me fait lhonneur de me temoigner toutte la bonte imaginable et ma desia ecris plusieures lettres de sa propre main en allemant aussi bien que lempereur et le roy. Ie laise a panser a V. A. E. quelle embaras sa estes pour moy dauoir tant de responces almande a faire, dont la reusite me paroisoit fort douteuse, mais les nouelles que ien ay eu mont rasurée et mont donnes enuie de donner un petit echantillion de mon scauoir a Mad. harling la semaine qui uient. Pour auiourduy ie nay que le tems de prier V. A. E. destre persuadee que personne na vn plus sincere attachement ni vne plus grande veneration pour elle que moy.

AMALIE DE BRUNSVIC.

93.] GILBERT BURNET TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

The 16th Febr., O. S., 1699.

May it please your Electoral Highness

To pardon the presumption that I take in recommendin one of your own subjects to your El. H^s^ favour. Mr Hackma has Imploied his time so well, and behaved him so worthil during his stay among us, that I hope your El. H^s^ will forgiv me for doing him Justice in presenting him to you with th character that is due to him, which I am particularly boun to, because he has done me the favour to be often with me and as he knew nothing could be more acceptable to me tha to know everything that related to your El. H^s^, so by his Co respondence with Mon^r^ Leibnits, whom we doe all here recko

one of the greatest men that has lived in any Age, he had from him very frequently an account of what related to your El. H^s^, for I perceive Monsr Leibnits, among his other great Qualities, has a most singular Veneration for your El. H^s^. I lie at your feet and beg pardon for the Liberty I take, and hope your El. H^s^ will at all times consider me as one who is with the profoundest Respect, May it please your E. H.,

Your E^l^ H^s^ most humble, most faithfull, and most obedient Servant,

GI. SARUM.

94.] HACKEMANN TO LEIBNITZ.

Londini, d. 27 Feb., 1699.

Vir illustris,

Exaratas ante mensem literas cuidam Palmio, Berolinum iter facienti, dedi, in quibus de omnibus tibi scribendis, egi prolixè. Est etiam nunc mihi amplior dicendi campus; sed cum propediem domum reverti debeam, nolo ea literis mandare, quæ coram exponi possunt. Illud tantùm silentio præterire nequeo, Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, qui ipsius nomine multam tibi dicere salutem mihi imperavit, magni Te facere. Pransus sum heri cum illo in sede sua Archiepiscopali apud Lambeth, ubi in Tuam sanitatem duo vitra, mero repleta, exhausit. Locum, qui agit de Serenissima Electrice, non ipsi tantùm, sed Episcopis etiam Norwicensi, Wusteriensi, et Salisburgensi, sæpius me lautè tractantibus, exscribere ex literis, quas ad me dedisti, debui. Ad cœlum evehunt sapientissimam Principem, optantque ut Princeps Electoralis aviæ fulgeat regiis virtutibus. Tam sollicitè in dignissimi ipsius Nepotis mores inquirunt, quasi aliquando illorum esset Rex futurus. Et cùm optimis Eum depinxerim coloribus, (modo tanti Principis virtutes à me satis dignè depingi possint:) avide eum videre expetunt. Ad Ducem Glocestriæ, qui minus firma semper utitur valetudine, Dominus Burnettus me sæpe introducit. Cum in Archivis Anglicis nulla amplius inveniam documenta,

quibus Historia possit Brunsvicensis illustrari; dulcissimam Angliam intra octiduum respicere post terga teneor. Indiculum aliarum rerum, tibi forsan utilium, clam confeci, cùm Archivarius apud Turrim Londinensem Argi habeat oculos. Quotidie hanc morosi senis audio cantilenam: You must no take other things, as they belonges to your Historie.

Transactiones Philosophicas, quas desideras, libenter mecum afferrem; sed Bibliopolæ posteriora sex volumina post indicem Oldenburgianum, à sex prioribus separata vendere nolunt. Menses, sive numeri, tibi desunt 105, à num: Sc. 143 usque ad 247, inclusive. Sed de his et aliis scripsi prolixe in prioribus, de quibus supra dixi, literis. Vale, Vir Illustris, et fave

Celeberrimæ tuæ virtutis Admiratori
et cultori perpetuo,
FRED. A. HACKEMAN.

95.] MAXIMILIAN, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG, TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

Viene, le 13 *Mars*, 1699.

Madame,

Je laissé passé quelque ordinaire sans donner part a V. A. E. de mon estat, a cause des sollennites est des autres rejouissances qu'on a fait ses jours passes al occasion du Roi des Romeins, ou je esté occupé pour me mettre en trein de paroitre, si non avec la meme magnificence que les autres, au moin selon que la bourse le permettoit a se temps la, pour concourir passablemen a la dite sollennite. Je ne fais point a V. A. E. un recit de ce qui si est passé, puisque les gasettes en seront plein est elle en aura esté informé par d'autres meins, de sorte que je ni trouve rien a joindre, si non qui faut esperer que l'accomplissemen de cet mariage ne soit moin heureux que le commencemen est que la suite en procure la duree. Apres un si bon carnaval nous nous trouvons dans le Caresme, ou au lieu des Operas, des Balls, est des festeins, on se divertit avec des

Sermons; ce sont ceux ou je consume la plupart du temps a presan; en attenden que j'aurais la satisfaction d'en gouter d'avtres, je finis pour l'assurer que personne soit avec plus de respect est devotion, Madame, de V. A. E.,

tres humble est tres obeissant Serviteur,

MAXIMILIEN GUILLEAUME.

96.] THE PRINCESS DES URSINS TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

1698.

Iaurois esté tres assurement, Madame, des premieres a me donner l'honneur de faire mon compliment à Vostre Altesse Electorale sur le mariage de la Reine des Romains si la joye que jen ay eu dabord nauoit este troublee presque dans le mesme temps par la mort de ma soeur. Jaduoue, Madame, que ce dernier éuénement ma este si sensible que ia nay esté jusques aujourdhuy occupée que de ma douleur et que je differcrois mesme encore de me donner l'honneur d'ecrire a V. A. E. si je ne trouuois une espece de consolation a entretenir une grande princesse qui est plus propre qu'une autre a me compatir par la bonte de son cœur et par lamitie dont elle m'honore. Je scay, Madame, le plaisir que ressentira V. A. E. de uoir Madame la princesse de Bronsuich dans une place qui luy assure la couronne imperiale; cette raison suffisoit pour minteresser plus que personne a cet heureux sucses, mais comme jay encore par moy mesme lhonneur de connoistre sa majesté, jay fait miles vœux tant que les choses ont este incertaines pour que la cour de vienne rendist a son merite et a sa naissance la justice qui luy estoit deübe. Vostre Altesse Electorale, Madame, naura jamais de tres humble seruante plus absolument deuouée ny plus respecteuse que

LA PRINCESSE DES URSINS.

Je ne me suis point donné lhonneur de repondre à la derniere lettre de V. A. E.; je me suis contentée de l'admirer et

de penser en moy mesme que les historiens les plus intéressés a la gloire du Roy guilaume dengleterre ne feront jamais un portrait de ce prince ny plus beau ny plus spirituel. Je le trouue en uerité, Madame, bien plus grand par laquisition quil a fait de uostre estime que par les trois couronnes quil a sceu se mestre sur sa teste.

97.] ADDISON TO HALIFAX.

Paris, Oct. 14th, 1699.

Honour'd Sir,

I am at present in a place where nothing is more usual than for mean people to press into the presence and conversation of great men, and where modesty is so very scarce that I think I have not seen a Blush since my first landing at Calais, which I hope may in some measure excuse me for presuming to trouble you with a letter. But if I may not be allowd a little confidence of the country, I am sure I receive in it so many Effects of Your Favour in the Civilities my Ld Ambassador has bin pleas'd to shew me, that I can't but think it my Duty to make you acquainted with them, and to return my most humble thanks. I am sorry my Travails have not yet furnisht me with anything else worth your knowledge. As for the present State of Learning, there is nothing publisht here which has not in it an Air of Devotion. Dacier has bin forced to prove his Plato a very good Christian before he ventures to translate him, and has so far complyd with the Taste of the Age that his whole Book is overrun with Texts of Scripture and the notion of Præexistence suppos'd to be stoln from two verses out of the Prophets. Nay, the humour is grown so Universal that tis got among the Poets, who are evry day publishing Legends and Lives of Saints in Rhime. My imperfect Acquaintance with the French Language makes me incapable of Learning any more particular News of this kind, so that I must end my Letter as I begun it with my most Humble Acknowlegements for all your favours. I am, Honour'd Sir,

etc. etc., J. ADDISON.

98.] STEPNEY TO LEIBNITZ.

The Hague, November 25th, 1699.

Sir,

I cannot make up my mind to pass the sea without returning you my most humble thanks for the civilities which you lately showed me at Hanover, and communicating to you what is passing here with regard to the *belle lettre*. M. Boval is at work upon an augmentation of the Dictionary of the Academy, Mr. Bayle upon a supplement to his 'Dictionnaire Critique,' and M. Moytens has just published his 'Recueils des Traités' in four volumes, five copies of which I take with me for myself and my friends in England, for I find it a work of great utility, and shall be very glad to be the first to make a present of it to our great men of business.

I have sent you by the channel of M. Wiquefort a new translation of 'Plato,' by Dacier. The indolence of Socrates on the eve of his death charms me more than the feeble arguments which he uses to prove the immortality of the soul. When you have made what use you will of this book of 'Plato,' I entreat you to pass it on to Mademoiselle Pellnitz.

Herewith is a specimen of our English stage. The piece is not without wit, but it might pass for rather too libertine, and that is why I dare not have it sent to Berlin; but you will do, Sir, with it as you please, and perhaps the morality of 'Plato' will have the better of the licentiousness of a fashionable author. I entreat you to cast me at the feet of our adorable Electress, and to believe me, with much passion and esteem, Sir, etc. etc.,

G. STEPNEY.

P.S.—I hope to embark tomorrow for England.

99.] LEIBNITZ TO STEPNEY (*in answer*).

Sir,

I hope that you had a good passage across the sea, and that you will be at present in a perfect state of health and satisfac-

tion, which I wish you may enjoy in proportion to your deserts, whose measure is by no means a common one. The state and situation of your kingdom obliges you to unite the care of your commerce with that of foreign affairs. You are thus placed exactly in an occupation equally suited to yourself and to your country. I learn that they have rejected in England the project of the Florida colony; but I see that the French have shown much less delicacy towards the Spaniards in establishing a colony in the Gulf of Mexico itself, from which they intend to take all your colonies in the rear, and to join the Mississippi with Canada and the St. Lawrence by means of their own. It is much to be wished that you, gentlemen, the directors of trade, should have something done for the perfecting of geography. I have heard say that Mr. Halley, who was secretary to the Royal Society, intended to make a voyage on purpose to investigate the variation of the compass, and the movements of the winds and sea. I do not know whether he has sailed with M. Dampierre, or whether each has gone his own separate way.

I have written at large to M. Cresset about our lead-trade, for after England the greatest supply of lead comes from our mines; but I should like a reciprocal communication with regard to your own, for if you and we could come to an understanding about it, we should be entirely the masters of that important trade. As for tin, about which you spoke to me, I can hardly give you much information, for we have none. Whatever Germany furnishes comes from Saxony and Bohemia. It is used to make tin-plate, a manufacture which they were beginning to imitate in France when I was there.

I have not received M. Dacier's 'Plato,' which you gave M. Wiquefort for me, and to be sent on to Berlin; but Madame the Electress has received the translation of the English comedy, which seemed to me natural enough.

I have seen the great collection of public acts, but to tell you the truth have found it below my expectation. There is scarcely anything in it which has not been printed elsewhere, and indeed almost the whole of it is taken from a small num-

ber of books which are common enough, such as 'Goldastus,' 'Arzema,' the 'Theatrum Pacis,' the 'Recueils des Traités de la Couronne de France,' by Leonard, and my 'Codex Diplomaticus,' of which I am about to publish a continuation, in which, among other matters, I shall insert the statutes of the three principal Royal Orders, viz. the Garter, the Golden Fleece, and the St. Esprit, to name them in the order of their foundation. I hope that Mr. Tyrell will continue his history, which seems to me excellent, everything in it being grounded upon good old authorities. I shall insert in my continuation of the 'Codex Diplomaticus' some ancient pieces touching the quarrels between France and England, and England and Scotland, respecting the feudal rights which the English claimed in Scotland. I have some considerable materials which may one day serve to throw light upon the history and ancient rights of England. Before I close, Sir, I must entreat you to do me a favour. I have seen some chronological tables in large folio, which a person named Tallents formerly published in English. I have written to have them, but in vain. Would you have the kindness to direct some bookseller to look them up for me, and send them me to Hanover, or they might be delivered to our agent; the bookseller must be good enough to give me advice of it at the same time, and if he should do it in English I should not fail to understand him. I shall be very glad to have a correspondence with a man of this kind, who will be able to supply me with curious pieces from England. This will be an addition to the obligations which I already owe you. Madame the Electress of Brunswick sometimes does me the honour to speak to me of yourself, whom she esteems infinitely, and of your choice, whom she would wish to be able to esteem also; that is to say, that she would wish to see her, for that will be enough to esteem her.

I am, Sir, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

100.] LEIBNITZ TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

Lützenburg, July 13th, 1700.

Madame,

Although I imagine that Madame the Electress will give your Electoral Highness a description of the Comic Masquerade or Village-Fair which was represented yesterday at the theatre of Lützenburg, I am determined also to say something about it. The director of it was M. d'Osten, he who was in the good graces of the late King of Denmark. The whole had been got up in a great hurry, in order to have it executed on the day appointed for keeping the Elector's birthday, that is to say, the 12th, although the 11th, which was last Sunday, is the real birthday; so they represented a fair in a village or a little town, where there were shops with signs, in which they sold (for nothing) hams, sausages, neats'-tongues, wines and lemonade, tea, coffee, chocolate, and similar drugs. Mgr. the Margrave Christian Louis, M. d'Obedam, M. du Hamel, and others were the shopkeepers. M. d'Osten, who acted the part of the quack-doctor, had his harlequins and *saltimbanchi*, amongst whom Mgr. the Margrave Albert took his part very agreeably; the doctor had also some tumblers, who were, if I am not mistaken, M. le Comte de Solms and M. de Wassenaer; but nothing could be prettier than his juggler; this was Mgr. the Electoral Prince, who, in fact, really has learned the hocus-pocus.

Madame the Electress was the doctoress, and kept the shop, for the sale of *orviétan*. M. d'Alleurs acted his character of the tooth-drawer very well. At the opening of the theatre there appeared the solemn entry of the doctor, mounted upon a kind of elephant, and Madame the doctoress showed herself, also carried in a litter by her Turks; the juggler, the tumblers, the buffoons, and the tooth-drawer came next; and when the doctor's whole suite had passed by, there was a little ballet of gipsy-girls, ladies of the Court, under a chief, who was Madame the Princess of Hohenzollern, and some others joined them in order to dance. They also saw an astrologer

make his appearance with his spectacles or a telescope in his hand. This was to have been my character, but M. le Comte de Wittgenstein charitably took it off my hands; he made some predictions in favour of Mgr. the Elector, who was looking on from the nearest box. Madame the Princess of Hohenzollern, who was the principal gipsy, undertook to tell Madame the Electress's fortune in the most agreeable manner possible in some very pretty German verses made by M. de Besser. M. de Quirini was the valet-de-chambre of Madame the doctoress; and as for me I placed myself in a favourable position to see everything near with my little spectacles, in order to be able to give your Electoral Highness a report of *it*. Madame the Princess of Hohenzollern's lady had the tooth-ache, and the tooth-drawer, doing his duty with a pair of farrier's tongs in his hand, produced a tooth which was about as thick as my arm, and, to tell the truth, it was a walrus's tooth. The doctor, praising the skill of his tooth-drawer, left the company to judge how adroit he must be to draw such a tooth as that without hurting anybody. Among the sick who wanted remedies were MM. d'Alefeld and de Fleming, the Envoys of Denmark and Poland, and our M. d'Ilten, all dressed like peasants of their several countries, each Jack with his Jill. Madame the Grand Marshal was the wife of the tooth-drawer, and helped him to put his drugs and instruments in order; so it was with all the rest. Several skilfully intermingled compliments for the Elector and Electress; M. d'Obedam in Flemish, M. Fleming in good Pomeranian, for he wound up with

> Vivat Friderich und Charlot!
> Wer's nicht recht meynt ist ein H——.

However it was like the Tower of Babel, for every one was talking his own language; and M. d'Obedam, to please Madame the doctoress, sang the song out of 'L'Amour Médecin,' which ends with "La grande puissance de l'orviétan;" and indeed that which such a doctoress sold could not be without it. Towards the end came a Trouble-joy,—M. de Reisewitz, the Saxon Envoy in Poland, representing the ordinary doctor of the place,

or Stadt-physicus, who fell upon the Quack; it was a pleasant war of words enough; the Quack having shown his papers, his parchments, privileges, and certificates of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, the Stadt-physicus laughed him to scorn, and showed him handsome medals of gold hanging from his neck and that of his wife, saying it was his skill that had acquired for him such pieces as those, and that they were much more real marks of ability than a pack of papers picked up here and there. At last Mgr. the Elector himself came down from his box in the disguise of a Dutch sailor, and made purchases here and there in the shops of the fair. There was music in the orchestra, and all those who were present, (who either were or ought to have been people of the Court or of distinction,) have confessed that a Grand Opera, which would have cost thousands of crowns, would have given much less pleasure both to the actors and the spectators, etc. etc.

LEIBNITZ.

101.] STEPNEY TO LEIBNITZ.

Vienna, May 1, 1701.

Sir,

I am very much obliged to you for the friendly sentiments which you have expressed in the letter you did me the honour to write to me on the 18th of January, which I have not been able to answer sooner, having very shortly after received his Majesty's orders to set out for the Imperial Court, where I arrived only yesterday.

The matter of which your letter treats was concluded exactly the day that I left London, and in the way which I supposed it would in the second letter which I had the honour of writing to the Electress on this subject. I have just been congratulating her with all my heart; for besides the advantage which will accrue to her house through this declaration of Parliament, I look upon it as the best step which our nation could take to secure our religion and our quiet, in spite of the anger which the Duke of Savoy and others may feel;

for it is beyond all doubt that a disposition made by a King full of life and good sense, with the consent of the States of the realm, is a hundred times more valid than that which has just been made by a Prince weak in every respect and a cabal of interested people.

The English nation was so well disposed to the succession, at the King's recommendation, that there was no need of pamphlets to prepare men's minds, or of men of talent to conduct the affair; otherwise I am persuaded that they could not have chosen for that service a person more capable than yourself; and I should have given myself great pleasure in busying myself to procure this advantage for you, and at the same time for myself the honour of serving you in England; but fate decided otherwise, and since the affair has gone off so well we have all the better reason to be satisfied.

It is some time since you spoke to me about Mr. Halley. I have seen him since his return, and also the chart which he has prepared for the King, on which he marks the variations of the compass; it is very curious, and they will probably have it printed. They expect Dampierre home soon, having had news of him from Batavia. He has been to the East Indies to discover some spice island for the benefit of our Company, in which I believe he has succeeded. I have not been able to find Tallent's Chronological Tables in London, which you wished for, otherwise you should have had them long ago. If there is anything in this country in which I can be of use to you, you have only to lay your commands upon me, for I am with passion and esteem, etc. etc.,

G. Stepney.

P.S.—I had just finished this letter when I received yours of the 24th of March, for which I return you my humble thanks.

102.] STEPNEY TO BLATHWAYT (?).

Vienna, June 1, 1701.

Sir,

In my letters to Mr Secretary I have been carefull not to say anything that might give offence upon His Ma^tys^ having acknowledged the new King of Spain; but to you I may venture to own I was not a little surprised at that sudden resolution, on which I could have wished Mr Secretary had been pleased to explain to me some of the motives which induced his Ma^ty^ to that degree of complyance; for notwithstanding the deference all mankind deservedly bear to his judgement, and the reasons which accompany all his actions, yet the wisest heads, and even our best freinds, are at a loss what to say or think on this occasion. 1st, They are persuaded His Ma^ty^ warmly disapproved what the Dutch did in the height of their despair, when the French torrent broke in upon their neighbourhood, and they neither had forces of their own to rely on, nor any assistance to expect from their Allys; which makes this Court utterly astonished at His Ma^tys^ condescention now, when wee have a powerfull Fleet abroad, and a Parliament (as wee think) ready to do whatever shall be proposed to them for the good of Europe. 2^ly^, The manner of communicating his Resolution to the Emperours Envoy seems extraordinary. My Lord A. first broke the news to him, but forgot to explain the motives, which last part was committed to the care and discretion of Baron Schutz, the Lunenburgh Envoy, who has very much abounded in his reasonings and glosses, which however are far from giving satisfaction here; and the use of a forcign Envoy upon such an errand, without any mention of a Secretary of State or other English minister, makes people beleive wee are either afraid or ashamed to own what is doing amongst us.

You may imagine I have not ventured to express myself thus freely to Mr Secretary, tho' the conveyance of the message is very publick here, C. Wratislaw having writt it not only to the Emp^r^ and his ministers, but even to the Jesuites

(who must have their share in every thing that passes), and the reflections which are generally made upon our proceedings are such that I had rather you should guess than I relate. 3^{ly}, As to the motives, Baron Schutz says, the King was sensible the Parliament intended to request the acknowledgement, and thought his authority concerned rather to prevent their so doing by making it his own free act; which these people think is a false maxime, and are willing to flatter themselves that if the King had referred this article (as He has done several others of late) to the advice and consent of his Parliament, they were likely to have formd more freinds there than some imagine, and therefore wish that matter had been refer'd to a fair tryall, as his Majesty promised to communicate to them all things relating to the negotiation.

As a commissioner of Trade I have been willing to throw in my oar, That such an acknowlegement was necessary, towards securing our merchants and withdrawing their effects from Spain, without which precaution wee might begin a war now with greater disadvantage than wee did the last; But neither this reason nor any other that I know will satisfy them. They complain they are abandon'd, and instead of being assisted by us, as is required by the Grand Alliance (which they offer to renew and enlarge by Conferences to be held either at the Hague or in London, to which purpose full powers have been sent long ago both to C^{t} Goes and C^{t} Wratislaw), wee do them all the mischeif wee can by entring into seperate negotiations with the French, (notwithstanding their horrid and frequent perjurys) wherein wee make what blind agreements wee please, without giving any information to our Allys, who are more immediately concerned; as if they were mere Pupills not able to contract for themselves, and when wee have signed and sealed wee think it time enough to dictate to them our pleasure as the rule, wherewith they must be contented. This hapened at Nymeguen and Ryswick. This was practised in the two late Treatys of Partition; and this (they think) is now transacting with C^{t} d'Avaux in a third, whereby they suppose all that is to fall to their share

is Milan and the Spanish Netherlands. I wish with all my heart the Archduke was in possession of those countrys, for I am not apt to beleive wee shall ever arrive at so good conditions; yet I perceive this Court thinks that Portion too scanty, fancying themselves as good as sure of the former by the Armys they have in Italy, and tho' the Dutch and English should get the latter for them, they will not account that any great obligation, it being rather for our own security than out of Love and Kindness to the Emperor, who is likely to be at more expence in maintaining those Provinces than they are worth, as may be made apparent by all the Historys of the Netherlands from the Duke of Parma down to the D. of Bavaria.

If to these terms might be added Naples and Sicily the conditions might be worth accepting, and these acquisitions are thought more feasible than the other, if wee could spare a fleet for their assistance in the Mediterranean. For the Pope (they beleive) is their freind, and they have much ado to keep the nobility of Naples from breaking out in their favour, before those designs are ripe enough for execution.

To sum up all, if after the late injurys wee have received from the French and the contempt wee are daily exposed to, wee are resolved once more to lay ourselves at their mercy to the destruction of our constant and naturall Ally, whom wee ought according to Treatys to assist, and from whom wee may hereafter expect assistance in our turns, All I foresee is plainly this, that the Emperor will for the future endeavour to do his own buisness, without us, by the Mediation of the Pope and the Jesuites, and then leave us to struggle as well as wee can for our Libertys and our Religion whenever France or Spain shall join together to impose upon us a Prince of Wales, a Duke of Berry, or any body else.

By the freedome or rather Licentiousness of these reasonings you may easily imagine they are only for yourself.

103.] BURNET TO LEIBNITZ.

Salisbury, June 30, 1701.

Dear Sir,

I know I cannot do the Earle of Macclesfield a more usefull as well as a more acceptable service than to introduce him into the acquaintance of one who is now the Glory not only of the Court of Brunswick but of the whole German Empire. Men who are very Eminent in any one great thing may justly reckon that they may well neglect all other things. But it is very Extraordinary, and may be justly reckoned among the wonderfull Phenomena of the Age, that one man should excell in all Sciences. Mathematicks, Philosophy, Law, History, and Politicks do not exhaust a Genius that seems born to let the world see to what one man can attain; and yet after all this, you seem to have studied Theology as if you had minded nothing else. When I tell you so freely what justice all the world does you, you will easily beleeve that it gave me no small satisfaction to find that my book, which I took the liberty to send you, was so well liked by so great a man and so true a judge. I am glad to find that it is like to be of some use in order to the softning the sharpnes that is among your Divines, particularly in the matters of Predestination. The Court of Brunswick is now so entirely united to ours upon the justice which the King and Parliament have done in declaring the right of Succession, that I hope we shall agree in this, as well as in every thing else, to promote an agreement among all that are Enemies to Popery, in order to the defending ourselves against the Common Enemy.

The present State of affairs opens to us a great Crisis; for either the K. of France will arrive at the much longed for Vniversall Monarchy, or, by grasping at too much as Spain did above an Age agoe, he may fall under a feeblenes like that to which we see Spain now reduced. The warre in Italy is that upon which all mens eyes are now set; when the Imperialists are once fixed there in some Important places, and are sure of winter quarters, affairs every where else will put on

another face. Our Parliament here has ended much better than was expected. The practices of the French were as visible here as in many other Courts, and have been so skillfully managed that we have been much embroiled by them: yet the Genius of the Nation worked so strongly towards a warre, that it could not be resisted. I will not enter further into our affairs, but leave them to the Noble bearer, or such about him with whom you may fall into free conversation. I beg leave to assure you that no man honours, Loves, and Respects you more than He, who is with a most particular esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble and
most obedient Servant,
GIL., BISHOP OF SARUM.

104.] LEIBNITZ TO STEPNEY.

[*Hanover,*] *the 8th July*, 1701.

Sir,

It is a peculiar mark of kindness to have written to me the day after your arrival at Vienna, and I am much obliged to you for it.

The great affair respecting which I had had the honour of writing to you, conformably to what you had announced to Madame the Electress, has ended well, agreeably to what you had written to her a little before the resolution of the House of Commons. The wisdom of the King, and his zeal for the nation and the Protestant religion, have shown themselves consistent, and all honest people must be more convinced of them now than ever. God grant that such just measures may be taken not only among yourselves and among us, but also in the Court where you are, in all the Empire and elsewhere, as to prevent that transcendent power, which puts itself in a position to give the law to all the earth and successors to monarchies, from overturning the best established settlements.

We languish for good news from Italy; the party dominant at Milan flatters itself with the belief that the Emperor's army is without money, provisions, or a plan; these are the terms of a letter from a person of very great consideration in that country, but I hope that they will not have despised their enemy with impunity, and that his Imperial Majesty will have taken better measures than his adversaries imagine. I confess that they have to do with people very skilful, and supported by one of the greatest powers in the world, and that it will require some extraordinary *coup* to catch them, either by Providence interfering in some very special manner, or by exciting the minds of men to devise unforeseen expedients which may render the precautions of the enemy useless.

The conspiracy of Hungary is an untoward event. It will be well if the Emperor can find a sufficient number of neutral troops for Hungary, in order that he may be the better able to use his own elsewhere. This was hoped from those of Bavaria, but I hear now that there are doubts about it; these neutralities are spreading widely, but I do not know that they will be eternal. The Court of Wolfenbüttel has made no difficulty of declaring its own to M. le Comte de Rappach. People pretend to have seen some traces of a manifesto which that Court is causing to be printed, to set up, that the grandfather of the Dukes had no power to renounce the succession to Zell; but I can hardly believe it. Nevertheless I verily believe that they would aim at it rather for themselves, if there were the means, than for Monsieur the Duc Maximilian, whom I should wish to see in better hands than those of certain counsellors whom he has at present at Vienna, and who mix themselves up in his affairs without knowing them thoroughly, as their letters only too clearly show. No one can be more distressed than I am to see the part that he has taken with Duke Christian, his brother, and that they are both of them insensible to the remonstrances of their best servants. However I still do not despair that they will think better of it; and I hope that Duke Max may not have taken any step which may be too prejudicial, and at which he used to laugh himself

in old times. To return to general affairs. It is a great *coup* for us that Denmark has let itself be won over to the right side. A report is current that the Bishop of Münster is not over well, and that they are already beginning to take measures respecting the succession; it is to be hoped that in the event of a vacancy no mistake may be made in the choice, as has happened more than once. Here are some pretty Latin verses which Mr. Abercrombie, a Scotchman, has sent me upon the establishment of the English succession. I remember once to have written to you at your desire with respect to your trade, but you must at present have quite other thoughts in your head. It is true that you take a part in everything, and that in the realm of learning you are one of the most considerable citizens. A man of learning is at work at an edition of Damascenus, in which he will give some pieces hitherto not printed. He has learnt that there is something of this Father in the Emperor's library, but they tell me this is closed now since the death of M. Wesseling. If any one had access to it, I would have recourse to him, and I would venture to entreat you to be favourable to us; but I suspect that at Vienna they think of anything rather than this sort of employment. M. de Galvin, Minister of State at Berlin, has asked me if Mr. Rymer's great work will soon appear. I am told that Mr. Haly is going to sea again; this is to be really indefatigable. I am sorry that there are people who attack the Bishop of Salisbury's Commentary upon the Articles of your church, for I find this work very much to my taste. Some parts of it have been translated into Latin at Berlin, with great encomiums, as I have told him in thanking him for the copy which he sent me. You will hardly be thinking much about Moses where you are; the air of England is more fitted to inspire thoughts of that kind. Your political occupations may do more service to religion than meditations on the Bible, however good they may be. I am, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

105.] FOUNTAINE TO LEIBNITZ.

(*Lettre que M. Chevalier Fountaine m'a écrite pour estre receu dans la Société Royale de Berlin.*)

Berlin, 18 *Octobre*, 1701.

S^r^,

It wont, I'me certain, be thought strange that one who has had the Happynesse of conversing frequently with you, should desire to put himself under your direction, and to be admitted into a society that Studys the advancement of Learning and the propagation of the X^tian^ faith; the Royal Academy at Berlin has already made such a progresse in the first, and persues with so much industry the last, that i shall take it as a particular favour to be made a member of that Learned Body, and to the utmost of my power, i shall alwaies endeavour to promote the designs of soe great a King, and soe judicious a director. i am, S^r^,

Your most obedient
humble Servant,
ANDREW FOUNTAINE.

106.] FOUNTAINE TO LEIBNITZ.

Leipsig, *Oct.* 24, 1701.

Dear S^r^,

The letters of addresse that you sent me were the most gratefull present you could make, and that which I have already delivered to Mr Menke has procured me an abundance of Civilitys; but the compliments you made me were not quite soe acceptable, because I know very well that I dont deserve 'em; but they have convinced me, that you are able to make as great a figure among the Courtiers as you doe among the men of letters; and that you can oblige the Ladies as well as the Learned, by your conversation: in short you are just what you please; you understand every thing, and are admired by every body.

I stopt for some time at Wittemberg, and pay'd a visit to Martin Luthers and Melancthons tombs, which are not very sumptuous for men of their merit; though they are very much of a peice with the rest of the University.

Pray deliver the enclosed to Mrs Pelnitz, and with your accustomed good nature excuse all the nonsense and bad French in it; for I had not the Happynesse to meet with soe good a director, as you are, here. I hope to meet with a letter from you at Vienna, wch I shall esteem as a particular favour, and it will convince me that you have soe much goodnesse as to lay aside the Meaux's and your other great correspondents, to oblige me that has noe other merit than that of being,

Dear S^r^,

Your most oblidged humble Servant,

A: FOUNTAINE.

107.] LEIBNITZ TO FOUNTAINE.

Berlin, November 12th, 1701.

Sir,

I was enchanted to learn that my letter from Lützenburg had reached you before your departure from Berlin, and that the enclosures are to your satisfaction. M. Minkenin's thanks me for having procured for him and his son the honour of your acquaintance: it is a correspondence, at least among persons like you and him, by which all parties are gainers, the only commerce in which that takes place. But as for me, I am he who derives the most advantage from it, and your deserts are the capital from which I derive the profit. I have no doubt that M. Morel at Arnstadt, and M. Imhof at Nürnberg, will also be much obliged to me. One is fortunate when one has a person like yourself to produce. The Queen still thinks herself my debtor for having introduced you, although you were more than sufficiently so by Madame the Electress's letter; and Mademoiselle de Pellnitz, as well as the other ladies, often ask me news of you; not to speak of your wit, your good

looks, or rather your beauty, remains engraved in their imagination, and makes as much noise at Court as your learning does among our *savans*, who have had the advantage of your acquaintance. I read your letter, or rather I translated it in our assembly. The Society accepts with much pleasure the advantage of having you as a member; the King of Prussia himself, when he heard it, expressed his satisfaction about it; and we reckon very much upon a person of such distinction as yourself.

I do not know if Mlle. de Pellnitz will still send me a letter for you, or whether she has perhaps already despatched it to M. Plantamour. If I learn that you are gone to Italy, I shall take the liberty to send you letters for some friends that I have in that country. The affairs of our Society get on: we are about to send to Muscovy a gentleman who is a learned geometrician and painter, and understands the language of the Czar, to make observations there. The King is sending orders into the provinces to make the doctors collect observations respecting the seasons and the winds, and their influence on the body, so as to be able to draw up 'Historiam Regni Physico-Medicam,' which is to be sent to the Society. I entreat you to impart your observations on your travels to me; and not to call me Excellence unless you choose me to call you My Lord in reprisals, which however I might do more justly, and in the character of a prophet, for you are of an age and condition to rise, while as for me I am at an age to descend, but it will never be from the quality I shall ever maintain of being, Sir, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ

P.S.—My most humble compliments to Mr. Stepney and to M. and Mme. Hamel Brusines; and if by chance you should meet M. le Comte de Rappach, who was the Envoy of the Emperor at Hanover and Wolfenbüttel, and whom I have seen both at the one and the other place, and for the last time at M. le Comte de Platens, at the time when he left us, I entreat you to do him the same good service, and assure him of my zeal.

108.] FOUNTAINE TO LEIBNITZ.

Munick, 25 *Novemb.* 1701.

Dear S^r^,

You may perceive by the place from which I date this letter that I am become a perfect Rambler; but, notwithstanding that, my affections are steady and I have still the same value and respect for you that I alwaies had. Your letter to Mr Morellus procured me very great civilities from him, and he not only showed me all the Count of Schwartzburgs medalls, and gave me severall very learned instructions, but he alsoe made me a present of some valuable Roman coines. From Arnstet I went to Nuremberg, and was soe unfortunate as to come thither just when the inhabitants were paying their taxes into the Treasury, soe that Mr Imhoff as Treasurer was obliged to attend daily, and I had but little of his company, but that little that I had of it convinced me that he is a very learned man.

Hannover and Berlin have left such impressions upon me, that I cant relish fine buildings without good inhabitants, and 'tis that, that makes me prefer the Electrice's Apartment at Hernhausen to that they call the Emperours at Munick; and the Little hall at Lusenbourg to the famous one at Ausbourg. in short, I dont beleive I shall like my native England, unlesse I find a Court from Hannover there. I am just now going to pay a visit to the Abbé Stephani, who seems to be a man of letters, and is, like everybody employed by his master, very well bred. To morrow or next day I shall set out for Vienna, where the greatest satisfaction I propose to my self is to meet a letter from you.

I am, Dear S^r^,

Most sincerely yours,

AND: FOUNTAINE.

If my Lady Bellamont be angry with me, pray make us Friends. My humble service to the Abbé of Lockum.

109.] *Form of an Order from His Majesty for Mr. Stepney, such as their Highnesses of Cell and Hanover wish for.*

[*About the end of* 1701.]

As it will soon be necessary for the advantage of the common cause to concert measures to bring the House of Wolfenbüttel to reason, and to prevent the ill consequences which might result from the great armament which it is making with French money, His Majesty, considering that his E. H. of Brunswick and his E. H. of Cell are not only exposed to the offensive designs which this House appears to have formed, but that they are also better situated than any other power to be thoroughly acquainted with the intrigues of Duke Antony Ulric with France, has thought fit to leave their said Highnesses at liberty to propose this matter to the Emperor at whatever time they may think the most fitting; which time being uncertain, H. M., before his departure for England, has thought it incumbent on him to leave in the hands of his Highness of Cell the present Order, to which Mr. Stepney will conform himself when it shall be delivered to him, and he will support at the Imperial Court, in the name of H. M., the proposals which shall be made to him by their said Highnesses with respect to the House of Wolfenbüttel, acting in concert with the Minister of their Highnesses at Vienna, and giving himself all pains to make the negotiations succeed.

110.] FOUNTAINE TO LEIBNITZ.

[1701.]

S^r^,

Having this morning found the convenience of goeing to Leipsig in a long Coach that is returning thither has forced me to give you this trouble, and to desire you, if the Letters are finisht, to send 'em by this messenger; if not, to direct 'em for me at the Post House at Leipsig. What with the hurry of packing up my Cloaths, and my usuall negligence together, I

lost the Copy of the Letter you left with me, but as much as I can remember of yours is contained in the enclosed, and I hope is sufficient; if not, I shall obey any further orders that you are pleased to send me. I must own that I part very sorrowfull from Berlin, and particularly that I am at this present oblidged to part with soe much expedition that I cant possibly have the Honour and Happynesse to wait upon the Queen before my departure; but I beg of you to say what you think necessary upon this occasion. You shall [hear] from me at Leipsig; I hope alsoe to have an answer to the enclosed, directed to Mr Stepneys at Vienna. I am, Dear Sir,

Your most sincere, humble Servant,

A. FOUNTAIN.

My humblest respects to Mrs Pelnitz, and the other pritty Ladies at Luzenbourg. My humble Service to Mr Opdam and Mr Wasnaer.

111.] FOUNTAINE TO LEIBNITZ.

Vienna, Decemb. 10*th*, 1701.

Dear S^r^,

I am convinced by your letter, which I was soe happy as to meet with at this place, that you are still soe kind as to remember me. I received also Mad^lle^ Pelnitz's letter, which I take for a great honour, and design to return her my humble thankes next post; you need not have made any excuse for the breaking of it open, since there 's nothing that I am master of that I would not very willingly communicate to you. I am very much obliged to you and your society for your kind acceptance of me into your number, and I shall make it my endeavour to be as serviceable to you as I can. I wonder you have not yet received the methods of our Insurance offices for fire, because I wrote a great while agoe about that matter, and have received an answer to the letter I wrote to the Bookseller at the same time; he is like most others of his trade, a knave, and talks of such terms as are not worth your while to

give, but I will write to another next post in Expectation of a better answer. I send you here enclosed a letter I received from Mr Edward Thwaites, that has published severall Saxon books at our presse at Oxford; perhaps you may find something in it that will make amends for the dulnesse of my own. The letters of Addresse that you have already given me have bin of singular use to me, soe that I most eagerly embrace your kind proposall of sending me some for Italy. I shall in two weeks time set forward for Venice, and shall be glad of the honour of delivering any letters or commands that you shall lay upon,

Dear Sir,
Your most sincere and
most obliged humble Servant,
AND: FOUNTAIN.

Direct your next to me,
Chez Mr Broughton,
Consul de la Nation Angloise à Venise.

Pray give my humblest services to all my Friends at Hannover, and assure 'em that I long to enjoy the happynesse that that Court affords.

112.] FRAISER TO LEIBNITZ.

De Londres, 15 *Dec., nevue Sti.*, 1701.

Monsieur,

Je me suis donné l'honneur de vous écrire deux fois de Londress, enfin d'attirer des reponcess touchant Les affaires de vostre coure, et mesme je vous ay avertî que on estoit resolu dans le Royaume d'Ecose, de ne pas suivre L'example que Le Parlement d'Angleterre Leur avoit donné à L'egarde de La Successione, ett qu'il falloit deturné ce coupe si il estoit possible; car c'est une natione qui peut faire beaucoupe de mall, quoique elle ne peut point faire du bien; vos ennemis commencent à Les pratiquer, enfin de Les soute-

nir dans Leur desseinge; ce pourquoi il faut y penser de bon heure.

Je me creu obligé de uous donné cet avertisment, ayant receû tant des beinfaits de son Altess et de Madam sa mere, dont je suis le fidel serviteur.

Nous commencons a esperer de voire bientot à Londres Le Prince Electorale d'Hanover; je vous prie de me faire scavoire le temps positivement qu'il doit arriver. Vous pouvéz addresser vostre Lettre pour moy chez Mr Bernarde, proche de la Maisone du Duke de Shomberge, dans Le pel-mell à Londres. Je suis avec respect,

Vostre très humble serviteur,

PETER FRAISER.

113.] ELLIS TO STEPNEY.

Whitehall, 10*th Mar.*, 170½.

Sir,

By the sad News you will recieve by this post, you will censure mee for want of judgement, at least, in the account I gave you last post, of H.M. illnesse; but I must averre that any one, who had seen him on Thursday about noon, as I had the honour to do, and had heard him speak, would not have believed wee should have had the misfortune to be deprived of him by 8 a clock on Sunday morning. You will see, by Her Maties declaration in councill, and by the addresses of both Houses of Parliament, that it is resolved to pursue the same measures, that the King was taking for reducing the too great power of France. The E. of Marlb. is Grand Vizier, as you may imagine, and the E. of Rock^m^ and Lord Godol. coopérate with him, as wee take for granted. I cannot hear that the King has made any will, since that in Holland, in 1696; so that some persons who expected large Legacies have gott very little. He thought, till Saturday in the afternoon, he should have weathered it, and then he sunk so fast, it was too late to do any thing materiall, tho' he was

in his senses to the last. I have the favour of yours of 4 inst. to acknowledge, and am ever, etc. etc.,

J. Ellis.

114.] Fountaine to Leibnitz.

Vienna, 14th Jan., 1702.

Dear S^r^,

I am extreamly obliged to you for your recommendations of me hitherto, and I dont in the least doubt but those kind things you have said of me in your letter to Maliabecchi will obtain a favorable reception for me, as comeing from a man of your character, though I dont at all deserve 'em. After often writing I have obtained the enclosed papers concerning our Insurance offices, and the friend that sent 'em to me promised at the same time that if you had any queries or objections to make that he would answer 'em to your satisfaction. The price of insuring the houses will alter in proportion to the goodnesse of your security, the interest you are able to make of your money, and the value of your houses, etc., but these things will all naturally occur to one of your learning & judgement.

I wrote a fortnight agoe to Mad^lle^ Pelnitz, and gave my opinion, I fear, a little too freely of this Court; I must desire you to beg my pardon of that faire Lady, if she is angry at the Satyre or stile of my last letter. I long to hear that the Queen of Prussia is got to Hannover; for as I wish all happynesse to that family, I am of opinion that the presence of that good Queen will contribute much towards it.

I was, according to your desire, to wait upon P. Menegatti; he had an account of the same thing before, but he was very glad to heare of your wellfare; he is one of the most sensible Jesuites I have met with here, for between you and I they are generally Knaves or Blockheads; and 'tis difficult to meet with a learned man here.

I have bin often with Generall Marsigli, who is going to publish the Antiquities of Hungary, and I have persuaded

him to propose to the Emperour to send for Morellus to put that great Collection in order, that lies at present in very great confusion.

My humblest services to all my Friends at Berlin and Hannover, both which Courts gave me soe much satisfaction that nothing has pleased me ever since I left 'em. I am,

Dearest S^r^,

Most sincerely Yours,

A. FOUNTAINE.

Here is great rejoyceing at Prince Eugene's having taken Bercello. Mr Stepney and Abbé Eccaro are your humble servants.

115.] LEIBNITZ TO FRAISER.

Hanover, Jan. 28th, 1702.

I have never received any letter from you except the last from London, which came to me from the house of M. the Envoy Cresset; and it will be well to ascertain whether they were delivered to the post or entrusted to some private person. All that I have learnt of you since your departure is what M. de Brauns informed me that you had charged him with your remembrances for me, and I have begged him to thank you for it. I have not failed here to make your compliments to Madame the Electress, as well as her son, who are both of them obliged to you. Madame the Electress has always thought that it was not for her to put herself forward in England or Scotland; consequently she left to the late King, and still leaves to the Queen and the two nations, the care of thinking upon what is most advantageous to themselves at the present time. She is naturally an enemy of intrigues, and likes to travel the broad way. She cherishes persons of honour and merit, and prizes their affection, setting a high value on your own.

She wishes, for the benefit of the two nations, that the Union

of Scotland and England may take effect. The Queen her mother having been born in Scotland, she still looks upon herself as a Scotchwoman, and interests herself warmly for whatever may happen to the advantage of Scotland, counting upon their affection as well as upon that of the English. She is particularly charmed that the Queen has shown so much firmness and goodwill for the common cause of the Allies, in which the public liberty and the Protestant religion are so deeply interested. May God bless good counsels! I commit you to His protection, and am ever, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

To M. the Chevalier Fraiser, London.

116.] FOUNTAINE TO LEIBNITZ.

Saltzburg, 29th Jan., 1702.

Dear S^r^,

I am got thus far on my way for Venice, and this being the first Town that I made any stop at, I take this opportunity to thank you once more for youre obligeing letters, and to beg of you, if you think it convenient, to obtain the Electrices letter to the Dutchesse of Modena; to which place I design to goe, after having visited the Imperiall Army in their winter quarters. If the Electrice does not usually write to the Dutchesse, 'twill be improper to ask that favour of her Highnesse, but you are a better Judge of that than I am. Whilest I was at Vienna I had the Honour of Conversing frequently with Prince Christian, who is a very sober, studious Prince, and seems to me to be one of the valuablest men of quality in the Imperiall Court; and the very reverse of his Brother, Prince Maximilian.

I hope you received my last from Vienna, because in it I sent you the Methods of our Insurance offices; but not Knowing whether you were at Berlin or Hanover, I directed it to Mr Plantamour.

I must desire you to send the Enclosed speedily forward for

England; and to give my humblest duty to all the faire Ladys of both Courts, but in perticular to Mlle Pelnitz. I am,

Dearest S^r,

Your most obliged and most obedient Servant,

Direct to me, A. FOUNTAINE.

Chez Monsieur Broughton,
Consul de sa Majesté Brittanique à Venise.

117.] LEIBNITZ TO THE PRINCESS OF HOHENZOLLERN.

Hanover, Feb. 25th, 1702.

Madam,

Having been at Berlin or at Lützenburg the last autumn and the beginning of the winter until the Queen came here, I have more than once heard how much Her Majesty was affected by the illness and annoyances of your Serene Highness, not only on account of the affection she feels for you, Madam, but also because they deprive her of the pleasure of seeing you. At present, as from the news she has received from you, she hopes that your Serene Highness will have recovered, or will soon be entirely set up again, she flatters herself that she shall possess you next summer, and rejoices at it by anticipation. However, Madam, it is her pleasure that I should give you a little account of what is going on here, where she is amusing herself not ill, as well as Madame the Duchess of Courland: masks and balls, play and the theatre succeed one another, and sometimes there are *intermezzi*, which serve to vary the pleasures. They celebrated lately a festival in the Roman fashion, which was intended to represent that of the famous Trimalcion, which Petronius has described. The modern Trimalcion was M. the Burgrave; and his wife, Fortunata, disposed everything as the ancient Fortunata did in the house of her Trimalcion. There were beds for the guests, the principal of whom were the Queen, Mgr. the Elector, and Mgr. the Duke Ernest Augustus; but Mme. the Electress, Mgr. the Duke of Zell, and other principal

personages, only came to look on. Trimalcion's trophies were to be seen; these were emptied bottles. There were also a number of devices pointing out his good qualities, particularly his courage and his wit. When the guests entered the room a slave cried out, "The right foot forward!" They had already taken their places on the beds, and Almolpus was reciting a poem in praise of the great Trimalcion, when he arrived himself, carried upon a machine, preceded by huntsmen, drummers, musicians, and slaves, all of whom made a great deal of noise. They sang verses in his honour, as for example,—

"In the camp as in the Court
He is a man of good report;
He feareth not the jars
Of Bacchus or of Mars."

The great actions of Pescaret, of Vienna, and other places, and particularly the manner in which he had set about softening the heart of Mme. de Winsingerode, as Hannibal did the rocks of the Alps, were the subject of these verses. Having in this manner gone more than once round the hall, as if in triumph, he placed himself upon his bed, and began to eat and drink, inviting his guests very graciously to follow his example. His carver was called M. Coupé, in order that when he said "Coupé" he might at once name him and give him his orders; this was like the Carpus in Petronius, to whom his master said "Carpe," which means 'carve.' There was a hen whose eggs, when they opened them, were on the point of being thrown away, because it was thought there were chickens in them, but they were *ortolans*. There were little children carying *pâtés*, and birds flying out of another *pâté*, which the huntsmen caught again; another was carrying olives; and many other extraordinary figures, which gave variety to the festival, and surprised the spectators; all in imitation of the Roman original. There was even a Zodiac, with dishes which answered to the twelve signs, and Trimalcion gave a very amusing astrological lecture upon it. Fortunata was called several times before she could put herself at table, for everything rested upon her shoulders. Trimalcion being in a

humour to spit learning, had the catalogue of his burlesque library brought, and as they named the several books in reading the catalogue, he quoted the fine passages or criticized them. There was nothing drunk but Falernian; and Trimalcion, who prefers that of Hungary to any other, nevertheless put a restraint upon himself for the sake of his guests. At length, contemplating his own felicity, and at the same time the vanity of worldly grandeur, he caused his will to be brought and read, in which he directed how he chose to be buried, and what sort of monument should be set up for him, and distributed legacies, all of it in a most comical manner. He emancipated his slaves, who during the reading of the will continued to make faces and lamentable exclamations; but during the festival itself he gave liberty on the spot to the one who was called Bacchus, making himself proud of having gods in his service. The slave went at once to take the hat, the mark of freedom. When the master drank the slaves made a noise which resembled the firing of cannon, or rather Jupiter's thunder, which was of good augury if it came from the left side.

But in the midst of the rejoicings the Goddess of Discord threw one of her apples among them: a quarrel broke out between Trimalcion and Fortunata; he flung a glass at her head, and they had all the difficulty in the world to reconcile them; however it was brought about at last. The whole ended in the most agreeable manner possible. The procession, with hunting-horns, drums, musical instruments, and songs, ended as it had commenced; and, not to mention Fortunata, one may say that the Trimalcion surpassed himself. I wish that a better description could be given of this, to rejoice your Serene Highness. For myself I was glad to take this occasion of showing at least how much I desire to retain the honour of your good graces, being with respect, Madam, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

The lady to whom this letter was addressed was a born Countess of Zinzendorf, and the wife of Frederick

William, Prince of Hohenzollern Hechingen. Marie Louise Leopoldine of Hohenzollern died in 1709. Her daughter Ernestine Frederica was also a correspondent of Leibnitz. The letters of the Princesses of Zollern are pretty numerous, but of no great interest.

118.] VERNON TO STEPNEY.

Copenhagen, Feb. 28th, 1702.

Sir,

Yesterday, about Eleven a Clock in the Forenoon, the K. of Denmark being in Boors Cloaths, and accompany'd by Prince Charles, and the Court on Horseback, all clad after the same manner; went from his castle here, to one of his Country houses, about an English mile and a half from this City, to a *Carousel* in imitation of one first introduc'd here by a Colony of Boors, of Low Dutch extraction, whom the Kings of Denmark, since Christian the 4ths Time, have been accustom'd to do ye honour once a year, to imitate, in their Dress, Divertisements, and even Country Fare; in order to encourage them to go on with improving the Soil, which, I have been told, they have done considerably, from what it was, while cultivated (or rather neglected) by the Natives, near this Place.

The Cavalcade thro' the City was extream comical; and indeed the *Carousel* was no less so; which, how diverting soever it was to the Beholders; yet 'twould be hard to give such an account of it, as cou'd bear reading. And therefore, to skip over the particulars of the Pastime, I shall only name the prizes, which were a good fat Buck and a Barril of Beer. The King himself carry'd the first, by his Dexterity in tilting at full gallop, with a long Pole (or rather Pitch Fork), at 3 Cats coop'd up in an empty Barril swinging between two Poles, till his Majesty knock'd out the head on't, and thereby acquired an additional Kingship among his Fellow-Boors, for enlarging the poor Prisoners.

The second Prize was the Reward of one Brigadeer Oraag,

for pulling off the head from a Goose swinging by the Feet between the two Poles aforesaid.

The number of the Boor-knights, besides the* King & P. Charles, was in all 34, among whom were the French Ambassadour and the Prussian Envoy.

The *Carousel* being over, the King with his Knights din'd at one Table, and the Queen with her Boorines (among whom was the French Ambassadress) at another. Their Majesties having danc'd away the afternoon, return'd hither in the Evening about 6 a Clock, being accompany'd with the Jovial Crew, and went straight to the Italian Comedy, clad as they were. After which there was a Mascarade at Court, that lasted till 5 this Morning, and I hear there is to be another there to night.

119.] ANNE, QUEEN OF ENGLAND, TO THE ELECTOR.

A St. James, ce 16e *April*, 1702.

Mon Cousin, la douleur que uous faites paroitre dans votre Lettre du 19e Mars, pour la Mort du feu Roy Mon Frere, est très juste, et les Sentimens que vous y temoignés avoir pour moy, me sont fort agréables. Je suis très aise que le public soit si bien satisfait des declarations que j'ay faites, et j'auray soin que les effets y repondent. Je ne manqueray pas d'avoir vne amitié et vne consideration toute particuliere pour vötre famille, au bien de laquelle je me trouve interessée par tant de liens; et comme ses Interestes sont tous unis et concentrés dans votre personne, cela ne peut qu'augmenter l'estime et la bienveillance que vous trouverés tousjours en celle qui est avec beaucoup de verité,

Mon Cousin,

Votre bien affectionnée Cousine,

ANNE R.

A Mon Cousin,
Le Prince Electoral de Brunsvic et Lünebourg.

120.] ANNE, QUEEN OF ENGLAND, TO THE ELECTRESS DOWAGER OF BRUNSWICK, SOPHIA.

Ma Sœur et Tante, j'apprend avec beaucoup de plaisir par vôtre lettre, que ce que j'ay dit à Monsieur Shutz vous a donné tant de Satisfaction, ce que je seray tousjours préte de confirmer par les effets. J'ay eté fort en peine du succés de l'affaire dans la quelle votre famille est à present engagée; aussy ay'je donné des ordres très précis à My Lord Marlborough, lors qu'il est parti pour Holland de leur procurer toute l'assistance qui seroit nécessaire, et je ne doute point qu'il n'ait agi en cela conformement à mes Intentions. Vous pouves vous assurer qu'en cette occasion, et en toutes les autres qui s'en presenteront, vous me trouveres fort disposée a soutenir vos Interests, et à vous donner toutes les meilleures preuves de mon amitié et de mon affection, comme etant tres veritablement,

Ma Sœur et Tante,

Votre affectionnée Sœur et Niece,

ANNE R.

A ma Sœur et Tante,
L'Electrice Douairiere de Brunsvic.

121.] MADEMOISELLE DE PELLNITZ TO LEIBNITZ.

Lutzenburg, April 8th, 1702.

If it were not Her Majesty's order, I should not be so daring, Sir, to distract your attention by my letter from some work which no doubt deserves it better than to read my letter; but as I am authorized by the order of H. M., you will permit me to do myself this honour. H. M. the Queen invites you to come to Lützenburg, and begs you earnestly to do so; you could not in truth do better than to come directly. For we are as the German proverb says: when the cat's away the mice dance on the benches. Besides which H. M. is at present without the least company; it is true that her taste is such that she prefers being alone to being in bad company, but this

is also the reason that she wishes for the pleasure of your conversation. You would do me a sensible pleasure in giving me or H. M. an answer to this letter, in order that I may not be accused of neglecting the Queen's orders. I should not have neglected them at any rate, and especially as on this occasion it is the question of having the honour of seeing you, and assuring you that I am, etc. etc.,

DE PELLNITZ.

122.] LEIBNITZ TO D'OBERG.*

Hanover, April 30th, 1702.

Thank God our little war has ended happily and gloriously! We have been the first after the Emperor to break the ice in the Empire, and I hope that this example will be of weight. It is also very important that we have struck our blow without anybody's help; but it is particularly praiseworthy that the House of Wolfenbüttel has been treated with so much generosity, even to the extent of giving them back the contributions, and without laying claim to anything more than our own security and the public good.

M. de Fuchs, on the part of the King of Prussia, and M. Kettler, on that of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, have signed the Treaty and pledged their masters to the guarantee.

And now I shall wish that concerns were so well concerted in the Empire that Mgr. the Elector, our master, could set out for the Middle Rhine and the Moselle at the head of thirty or forty thousand men, of which the troops of his own House might make up nearly the half. This is only in case they do not give him the command of the English forces, which naturally should belong to him; but I question the Queen's being much disposed to do this. She has no subject to be jealous of us; nevertheless this is natural to men, not to speak of her husband, who is a Prince of Denmark.

* D'Oberg was at this time Envoy Extraordinary from Hanover to Vienna.

In giving up a hundred thousand pounds sterling of her Civil List towards the wants of the State, the Queen appears to have had more than one end in view, and her language seems to me intelligible; however we cannot do better than to try and keep well with her, and to wait patiently, and without intrigues, for what she and the nation may think fit to do. We have only Italy to fear for. If they resist the efforts of France there, I shall have a good opinion of the issue of the war. They talk here of the death of Ragotzi, as if he had been killed in Poland; perhaps he has sent this report about himself. They say that France is still a hundred thousand crowns in debt to Wolfenbüttel, and that by Mr. Imhoff's management, who might have drawn them, but chose to wait, to lose less by the exchange. Probably France will conduct herself in regard to them as she has to all the other Allies, whom she has only made use of as the monkey did the cat's paw; so there is no hope of bringing back Mgr. the Duke Christian. I should be sorry that Duke Maximilian should have taken a step that would become him so ill. I think that M. Knorr will be as little listened to in Paris, whither he has been sent post-haste, as Mr. Busch at Vienna. It was said that Mgr. the Duke Anthony was returned to Wolfenbüttel, but this is not true. It is much to be wished that he would give up sentiments which have already done him so much harm and cannot be maintained; sacrificing himself for France would be like martyrdom for the sake of the Devil.

I am, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

Be kind enough, Sir, to give me some information about Mr. Bertram's character, for through M. de Greifenkranz he has made acquaintance with me by letter, and seems to ask for mine in return; but for that, it is well to know one's folks.

123.] LEIBNITZ TO BERTRAM.

[*About May*, 1702.]

Sir,

Since our little war has ended to our advantage, thanks to God I was not willing to neglect writing to you some details of this affair. The House of Wolfenbüttel, as you know, Sir, had entered into an engagement against the rest of the House of Brunswick, on pretence of opposing the ninth Electorate, and to this end had made alliances not only with certain Princes of the Empire and the King of Denmark, but also with France, whose guarantee they professed to claim under the Treaty of Münster for the preservation of the Princes and the Empire, which is, according to the German proverb, to make the he-goat gardener. But our Court, waiting quietly upon the progress of this affair, gave no pretext for arming. The Court of Wolfenbüttel took occasion of the death of the King of Spain to make a closer alliance with France, on pretence of maintaining the neutrality and preserving the peace of the Empire. To this end it stipulated for subsidies, and having undertaken to raise its forces up to twenty thousand men, France engaged to pay forty thousand crowns a month. When I was at the last Brunswick fair, in the month of February, I had the honour to tell Mgr. the Duke Anthony Ulrich that this could not fail giving great disquiet to his neighbours, and that the answer which had been given to M. d'Alvensleben, the King of Prussia's Envoy, was not of a nature to heal this, since it contained only verbal assurances, and that nobody would believe that the King of France would give such large sums for nothing. But the Duke told me, that it was of consequence to the King of France that fortresses of such importance as Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel should not be at the disposal of the opposite party; and that he gave this money to assist in keeping up twelve thousand men, who were barely sufficient to maintain those two places. I was obliged to take these reasons for current coin; but Mgr. the Elector of Hanover and the Duke of Zell would not, being forced to get rid of so great a weight as that of keeping up forces capable

of holding those of Wolfenbüttel in check. This was the reason that, as soon as the House of Wolfenbüttel was seen to be without the assistance of any neighbouring State, a blow was struck, backed by the authority of his Imperial Majesty, who could not be over-well satisfied with the answer which the Court of Wolfenbüttel had given to Monsieur the Comte de Rappach. As Mgrs. the Dukes of Wolfenbüttel are Princes whom I infinitely honour, I am sorry that it was necessary to come to these extremities. They never would believe me, that we had no design whatever of attacking them as long as they kept upon terms which gave us no occasion for jealousy. So by dint of taking too many precautions they have drawn this evil upon themselves: nevertheless by not making any demands upon them in this or any other matter in dispute, we have clearly shown that these affairs would not of themselves alone have sufficed to make us act against them." This good Prince has chosen to show towards France a delicacy which she does not deserve. He thought it a dishonourable thing to consent to give to the enemies of that Crown troops levied for its own money. But the necessity of the case was his excuse, as well as the trick that the French Envoy has played him in countermanding a hundred and eighty thousand crowns which otherwise were to be paid down at Hamburg. We had thirty-one thousand two hundred men; and they have kept about nine thousand, but I think that the Allies will still have some of them. It is certain that they will be able to put France to a good deal of inconvenience this time, if they set about it in the right way; especially if the English and Dutch go to Spain: but there ought to be three or four thousand Catholics among the troops which they land there. These are the true means to give validity to the rights of the Empire and the august House. Nevertheless I should wish them to employ at the same time reasonings and solid proofs to illustrate them. I have supplied important pieces to this effect in my 'Codex Diplomaticus;' and there are plenty more good things to be said still, which are not at all too generally known. I am, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

124.] HEDGES TO STEPNEY.

Whitehall, May 8th, 1701.

Sir,

I have received to day, from Mr. Vernon, yours to him of the 3d inst. N. S., on which I have not any directions to send you, but I am commanded by the Queen to signify to you Her Majtys Pleasure, that you recommend effectually to the court at Vienna, the Emperor's being Guarand of the Convention lately made, between the Elector of Hannover and the Duke of Cell, and the Duke of Wolfenbuttell, to which I have nothing to add, at the present, besides the assurances of my being, etc. etc.,

C. HEDGES.

125.] FOUNTAINE TO LEIBNITZ.

Rome, June 1st, 1702.

Dear Sr,

I received yours dated the 12 of last month from Hannover, which is the only letter I have had the honour to receive from you since I left Vienna. I am hitherto uncertain whether you have received the papers concerning the Insurance office, either from my friend Mr Thwaites or myself; and I never received any answer from you to that letter wherein I begged a recommendation to Modena, which was the occasion of my not passing by that Court. The receipt of your last letter was one of the greatest satisfactions I have met with since my arrivall in Italy, for 'tis a sure proof that you are still in this World, though the people of Florence have killed you and buried you this ten weeks; the great Duke of Toscany himself told an English nobleman that is now at Rome, that you were dead, and Maliabecchi told two or three other Gentlemen of my acquaintance that he had received the news of your death; I was informed of Yours and our Great Kings death at the same time, and was at a losse to decide which were the greater sufferers, the Allies by losing soe brave a Generall, or the Repub-

lick of letters, by wanting soe great an ornament as Mr Leibnitz.

I am heartily glad to heare that our new Queen knows her own interest soe well as to appear zealous for that of the House of Hannover; and I am sure 'tis the most effectuall method she can take, to secure the hearts of all the honest party in England, to show an affection for those that are to be her successours.

I find very little time to spare in this Town, because the antiquities are soe numerous, and the other curiositys soe diverting, that a stranger has always some thing to employ his time about. I have the honour of frequently enjoying the conversation of Cardinall Noris and Monsignor Bianchini, whom I take for the most learned Antiquary in this place; Signor de Ficoroni is a young man just coming into esteem, and is now publishing a miscellany of Antiquities: I must own I dont take learning to be in a very thriving condition in this part of the world; though I beleive this opinion of mine is owing to the conversation I have had with you, which has made all other relish but indifferently ever since; and I dont expect to meet a man of your generall knowledge and learning, till I return to Hannover, which I will certainly visit before I see England. I have wrote severall times to Mr Morell, but have not had any answer. My service to all my Friends. I am, Dearest Sir,

Your most obliged

Direct, and most obedient Servant,

Chez Monsieur Broughton, AND: FOUNTAINE.

Consul de sa Majesté Britt: à Venise.

FIELD-MARSHAL JOHN MATHIAS VON DER SCHULENBURG, COUNT OF THE EMPIRE.

This officer, who occupies an honourable rank among the comrades and contemporaries of Marlborough and Eugene, was descended from a very ancient and noble

family, various of whose members had from time to time filled high and important offices in the Mark of Brandenburg.* He was born on the 8th of August, 1661, at Emden, a possession of his family, some miles distant from Magdeburg. His father, Gustavus Adolphus, was a Privy Councillor of the Electorate of Brandenburg, President of the Chamber of Magdeburg, and Captain of the Giebichenstein and the Moritzburg near Halle. His mother was Petronella Ottilie von Schwenken, a daughter of an ancient, noble, and now extinct Westphalian family. He received the education usually bestowed at that time upon gentlemen of his rank; went to school, to the University, and was allowed to travel in France. In the year 1683 he and his brother visited Paris; and on his return from that city in 1684 he passed through the county of Luxembourg, where he was permitted to be present in the French lines at the siege of the fortress of the same name. His studies, which included French, Latin, and all the branches of mathematics, had been steadily pursued, and it appears to have been his father's wish that he should devote himself to a civil career. In the winter of 1684–85 he entered the Court-service of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, then under the joint government of the Dukes Rudolf August and Anton Ulrich,† with the latter of whom he formed a warm and lasting

* 'Leben und Denkwürdigkeiten Johann Mathias, Reichsgrafen von der Schulenburg, Erbherrn auf Emden und Delitz, Feldmarschalls in Diensten der Republik Venedig:' 2 vols., Leipzig, 1834. This contains an account of his ancestors, vol. i. pp. 1–10. There is also a sketch of him in Varnhagen's Biographical Memoirs, Part I.

† Sons of Augustus (born April 10th, 1579; + September 17th, 1666): Rudolph Augustus was born May 16th, 1627, and died January 26th, 1704, leaving his brother sole Regent. Anton Ulrich, one of the most accomplished Princes of his age, was born October 4th, 1633, became joint Regent with his brother in 1685, and died March 27th, 1714. The

friendship. As chamberlain of the Dukes he seems to have been employed in complimentary missions in 1686–87; but towards the close of this period he entered the military service of Brunswick, as it appears, against his father's wish. About this time and in 1688 it is probable that he served as a volunteer in Hungary against the Turks under the gallant Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, and afterwards under Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria; and here he had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Margrave Louis of Baden-Durlach, who held a command in the Imperial army. Under these Generals it may well be supposed that Schulenburg's military studies were efficiently pursued. Soon after the storm of Belgrade (September 5, 1688) he returned to Wolfenbüttel, and on the 26th of that month was promoted to the post of an Ober-Kammerjunker, or Upper Groom of the Chambers. War had now broken out between France on the one hand, the Empire and its allies, England and the States-General, on the other, —that war which more than once brought the overweening spirit of Louis to despair, and more than once seemed on the point of consummating the ruin of the French Monarchy. In the campaigns in Flanders Schulenburg had a share, truly subordinate enough; but he learned his business there to some purpose, and was not undistinguished by William III., an excellent judge of character. In 1690 he became a Major, in 1692 a Lieutenant-Colonel, and in 1693 he obtained a regiment of dragoons and Colonel's rank. During this period he was employed by his Court in various delicate diplomatical

present reigning House of Brunswick is derived from a third brother, Ferdinand Albert, born May 22nd, 1636, and died April 23rd, 1687. This is the line of Blankenburg and Bevern.

missions to the Courts of Bayreuth, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, Würtemberg, and Baden-Durlach; the object of these negotiations was to counteract the ambitious aims of the younger branch of Brunswick, in the person of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who was intent upon the establishment of a ninth Electorate in his favour, to the prejudice of the elder line of Wolfenbüttel and his own elder brother of Zell.*

Towards the close of the summer of 1693 the disputes which arose respecting the succession to the principality of Lauenburg had led to hostilities between Denmark and Lüneburg. The Danes insisted upon the evacuation of the fortress of Ratzeburg, which had been taken possession of by the Dukes of Zell and Hanover in the name of the House of Brunswick; and as the Dukes of Wolfenbüttel were interested in the settlement of the question, their troops were recalled from the Rhine to take part in the probable struggle. Hostilities were however avoided, the fortifications of Ratzeburg were demolished, and the claims of the Houses of Brunswick, Saxony, and Brandenburg settled by arbitration. In November, 1693, Schulenburg was sent to Gotha, and on February 12, 1694, to Münster, in the affair of the ninth Electorate. By a treaty of alliance with Holland (May 14, 1691) the Dukes of Wolfenbüttel had engaged to furnish 3000 men for the service of the allies. In 1694 (June 1) however a new treaty of subsidy was signed with England and the States-General, by which the

* The Dukes of Wolfenbüttel descended from Henry, the third son of Ernest the Confessor, born June 27th, 1497; died January 11th, 1546. The Dukes of Calenberg (Ernst August) and Zell (George William), on the contrary, descended from William, the fourth son of Ernest.

number of troops was raised to 5000. It is probable that Schulenburg's return to Flanders in the last-named year was for the purpose of organizing the new levies, and on the 27th of June we learn that he paraded the two new regiments as well as his own regiment of Dragoons before William III., who expressed his high satisfaction at their state. But in the October of the same year he was attacked by a most dangerous illness, and in December found it necessary to return to Wolfenbüttel.

In the spring of 1695 Schulenburg was selected to convey the condolences of his Court to William III. on the death of his Queen, and remained in England till near the end of April, when he returned to Flanders, bringing the King's last secret dispositions for the attack of Namur. He distinguished himself during the siege of this fortress, which lasted from the 3rd of July to the 5th of September, when the place capitulated. He afterwards continued in Flanders, occasionally employed on diplomatic, but generally in military service, till the close of the war in 1697 by the Peace of Ryswick, of which he was a spectator. His most important diplomatic mission during this period was to Brussels (December 15, 1695) to confer with the Elector of Bavaria, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, on the subject of the ninth Electorate; but without all the success which his principals desired, the Elector having engaged himself by promise to the Duke of Hanover.

After the close of the negotiations of Ryswick Schulenburg was commissioned to proceed to Paris to offer the congratulations of his Court on the conclusion of the peace, and the marriage of the Duke of Burgundy.* His instructions, which are dated December 13, 1697, were

* With the Princess of Savoy, December 7th, 1697.

to recommend the interests of the House of Wolfenbüttel with all his power to Louis XIV. He arrived in Paris in February, 1698, had an audience of the King, and in several conferences with Torcy and Pomponne received the assurance that the French Court was decidedly opposed to the pretensions of the House of Hanover, and would with all its influence support the views of Wolfenbüttel. Having thus performed the duty entrusted to him, he left Paris in the month of April for Turin.

During the negotiations at Ryswick overtures had been made to Colonel Schulenburg to enter the service of the Duke of Savoy,* with the rank of Major-General, and with the Colonelcy of a German regiment of foot. In a fragment of his autobiography he says that he was advised both by William III. and the Elector of Bavaria to accept the offers made him; and he subsequently obtained permission from his friends and patrons at Wolfenbüttel to do so. In May he reached Turin, where he was well received by the Duke, who appears to have distinguished him with particular favour.† His first important service was the reduction in 1699 of the revolted Waldenses, principally the inhabitants of Montalto, Vico, and Montasté, who had risen in arms to enforce a diminution or abrogation of the salt-tax. In this expedition he commanded under Lieutenant-General Des Hayes. After a long and severe resistance the mountaineers were subdued, and returned to their duty. In the beginning of the next year (1700) much discontent having shown itself at the severe and often illegal methods of recruiting, Schulenburg was sent into the disturbed districts, and

* Victor Amadeus, born 1666, + 1732.

† Schulenburg's pay amounted to 40,000 livres a year, including his regiment.

by a due mixture of firmness, tact, and moderation, succeeded not only in restoring peace, but in preventing future causes of complaint, a service which was gratefully acknowledged at Turin. Towards the end of the same year he was despatched to inspect the garrisons and fortresses in the county of Nizza, and to report upon the same to the Duke.

In the meanwhile the note of battle had again been sounded; Europe was arming on every side for the war of the Succession, and on this occasion Victor Amadeus found it his interest to accept the alliance of France. Early in 1701 Eugene of Savoy and Marshal Catinat stood over-against one another in the north of Italy; and in July of the same year the Duke of Savoy joined the French army with his troops, and took the chief command, having Marshals Villeroi and Catinat under his orders. After a good deal of manœuvring, which lasted till the end of August, Prince Eugene proceeded to concentrate his troops at Chiari. In the very excellent positions in which he had placed his small army he was attacked on the 1st of September by the allies with a greatly superior force; the battle, which was a very hot and, on the side of the allies, bloody one, lasted four hours with the utmost fury. Victor Amadeus exposed himself in the most reckless manner, leading some of the most desperate charges in person. But the discipline and position of the Austrians made them impregnable, and at nightfall the Duke drew off his troops, and effected his retreat in good order, leaving nearly two thousand dead upon the field. In the battle of Chiari Schulenburg received a ball through the thick of the thigh, and was long in mortal danger; but by the testimony of his contemporaries we learn that he was reputed to have

highly distinguished himself on this occasion. In the rest of the campaign Schulenburg was naturally not concerned, nor shall we follow the various fortunes of the war. About this time—that is, during the winter of 1701–2—he seems to have formed a resolution, the motives of which are yet far from clear: he determined to leave the service of the Duke of Savoy. His autobiography and other memoirs of his life render it probable that he did not wish to draw his sword against his own country, and that William III., who appreciated his talents, had made overtures to him to join him against the French. He says himself: "Il allait se rendre en Hollande auprès du Roi Guillaume, qui était prêt à faire la guerre de nouveau aux Pays-Bas, contre les Français, lorsqu'il apprit en chemin que ce monarque était mort, ce qui le détermina à entrer au service du Roi de Pologne."* At all events it is clear that in 1702 he applied for and obtained leave of absence, and that he left Turin with the intention of never returning to it. His letters soon convinced the Duke that this was his determination, and we can scarcely be surprised that that Prince felt himself aggrieved by so cavalier a mode of quitting his service. There will be found hereafter some correspondence which has reference to this subject.†

Disappointed in his hopes of employment under Wil-

* He was already at Dresden in February, 1702, and William died 19th March. Either he was going leisurely towards Flanders by that northern and very roundabout route, avoiding France, or he was some time at Dresden, undecided whether he would quit the Duke of Savoy's service. Perhaps he may have wished to visit Emden, in which case Dresden would lie in his road.

† On the 30th March, 1702, Schulenburg's cousin Lewin Friedrich v. d. Schulenburg wrote to him: "S. A. R. me fit appeler ce Dimanche passé, me disant que vous lui aviez écrit une lettre par laquelle il voyait bien que vous n'aviez plus le dessein de revenir; qu'il était fort surpris

liam III., Schulenburg turned his eyes to Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland. From a letter of Field-Marshal von Steinau to this Prince, it would appear that advances had been made before February, 1702, to Schulenburg, to enter the Saxon service, with the rank of Lieutenant-General; and the death of William III. may have decided him to accept the offer. Augustus, engaged in a dangerous war with Charles XII. of Sweden, could only be too glad to secure the services of an officer of such approved merit, especially as the Saxon and Polish troops required a vigorous reorganization, and Schulenburg's particular eminence appears to have lain in that direction. At this time however Augustus entertained some hopes of being able to make peace with his enemy; and, as negotiations were on foot to induce England and Holland to subsidize 12,000 men for the service of the allies in Flanders, Schulenburg may have hoped to join the armies there in command of this new contingent. Be it as it may, he took service in Saxony with the advanced rank already mentioned.

The overtures for peace having been rejected, the war in Poland was carried on with vigour by Charles XII. and his Generals; and Schulenburg, who in the meantime had visited his family seat at Emden, set out for Poland, and arrived at Cracow towards the beginning of

de votre procédé; qu'il vous avait fait parler par le Comte de Latour (Minister at War) avant que vous étiez parti; qu'il ne tenait alors qu'à vous de demander votre congé; qu'il vous l'aurait accordé sans difficulté et d'une manière dont vous auriez été fort satisfait; enfin, il n'est nullement content de ce que vous avez quitté de cette manière."— Mém. de Schul. i. 83. Schulenburg and his friend Leibnitz set to work to make a letter of excuses, which the Electress Sophia sent to the Duchess of Savoy through the Duchess of Orléans. The answer, which shows that the Court of Turin felt highly affronted, will be found hereafter.

July. Shortly afterwards the Saxo-Polish army moved to meet Charles, who was advancing on the high road between Cracow and Warsaw. On the 19th of July they met at a place called Clissow,* and after a short but smart engagement the Swedes were entirely victorious. The Polish cavalry behaved scandalously, and the Saxon infantry was only saved by Schulenburg's conduct. The army lost all its guns, baggage, and even the private utensils and camp equipage of the King; but Schulenburg, who accounted the loss of his baggage at 10,000 crowns, lamented far more the collection of military memoirs and papers which he had made with great pains and cost. "J'ai perdu tous mes équipages, une perte que je puis estimer à 10,000 écus, mais que j'oublierai de bon cœur, si j'avais seulement conservé mes manuscripts et mes papiers militaires, qui m'ont coûté autant de temps que de peines et d'argent; cependant la situation du Roi, mon maître, me tient tellement à cœur, qu'elle me fait oublier tout ce qui me regarde." After this battle Augustus retired to Cracow, and thence to Sendomir, but being driven from thence by Charles, he moved upon Warsaw, and finally to Thorn.

In the spring of 1702, when he still entertained hopes of making peace with Charles XII., the King had entered into a treaty with the Emperor, by which, in return for certain subsidies and other prospective advantages, he agreed to furnish eight thousand men to act against the French and Bavarians. Towards the close of the same year the Emperor claimed the fulfilment of this engagement, and Schulenburg was appointed to command this Saxon contingent. At its head he marched into Bo-

* The battle is also often called the Battle of Pintschoff, from the name of a neighbouring village.

hemia and then to the Danube: joined Field-Marshal Count Styrum, and was present at all the affairs of the campaign of 1703 under that officer and the Margrave Louis of Baden. In the first battle of Hochstedt, which the Imperialists lost, he defeated D'Usson's attack; and it was his corps that protected the retreat. One condition of the treaty with the Emperor was, that the King should be at liberty to recall his contingent, in the event of his hereditary land being threatened by the Swedes: and as, in consequence of the political and military events in Poland, this really became the case in the winter of 1703–1704, Schulenburg received peremptory directions to commence his march homewards.* It was not to be supposed that the Margrave Louis would consent to lose so valuable an officer and such a body of men at a time when he was watching the French on the whole line of the Black Forest; on the other hand, the King's commands were most stringent and imperative. All that was left for Schulenburg was to make the best retreat he could, with or without the Margrave's assent; and having taken such steps as were practicable under the circumstances, to cause as little mischief as possible by the withdrawal of his men, he commenced his march towards Saxony: by a series of admirably combined movements he got clear of the army of the Allies, and on the 20th of May, 1704, had the satisfaction of concentrating his *corps d'armée* under the walls of Dresden. Their presence there was become highly necessary.

The party in Poland which had supported the Prince de Conti in the election of a King, against Frederick Augustus, though defeated, was still powerful and busy. Its

* Order of October 20th, 1703; Orders of March 10th, and April 4th, 1704.

chief, the Cardinal-Primate Radziejowsky, Archbishop of Gnesen, had transferred to Sweden the active service he had previously rendered to France; and now that the fortune of war preponderated in the scale of Charles XII., he proposed to strike a blow which should at once satisfy his revenge and open the way to his ambition. He resolved to dethrone Frederick Augustus, and substitute a mere puppet of his own in his place. A *Rokosz*, or Convention, assembled in Warsaw under his presidency, and on the 14th of February, 1704, proceeded to declare Frederick Augustus deposed, to proclaim an interregnum (during which all the powers of the Executive were taken to reside in the hands of the Primate), and to appoint a day for a new Election. It is known that this Election fell on Stanislaus Leczinski,* the Palatine of Posen, and at a much later period father-in-law of Louis XV. of France.

In the meanwhile Schulenburg had begun to entertain the notion of quitting the Saxon service. It is probable that he desired a more active sphere, and would have gladly exchanged the irregular and unsatisfactory warfare in Poland for the scientific and important operations on the Danube and the Rhine. He would have been much better pleased to serve under Marlborough and Eugene, than to command the Polish *Pospolite* or the Muscovite infantry, who usually waited only for the sight of the enemy to throw down their arms and fly.

Great too as Frederick Augustus was in many points of his character, he was not without certain weaknesses personal to himself and common in his age. The reckless extravagance of his Court, and the rapacity of his

* Elected at Warsaw July 19th, 1704; but not crowned till September 24th, 1705.

many mistresses, with their innumerable clientage, only too often swallowed up the means which ought to have been employed in the raising, equipping, and paying the troops. From all the records of this time we learn that the Saxon army was in a most wretched state of disorganization. Schulenburg repeatedly alludes to its condition in terms of bitter disgust:* and we know from other sources that there was neither artillery disposable nor remounts for the cavalry, nor regular pay and rations for the soldier. Under such circumstances order and discipline were impossible, and defeat unavoidable. Moreover the officers of all grades, many of them basking in the sunshine of a sister's or cousin's or daughter's transitory favour, set all rules of subordination at defiance, and were but too generally supported, or at the worst connived at, by the Court; and, unhappily a very bad feeling existed between Schulenburg himself and Lieutenant-General Count Fleming, whose services in Augustus's election had given him a just claim to that King's

* "Il n'y a plus ni discipline, ni subordination, ni justice dans l'armée; un homme d'honneur doit craindre de commander une cavalerie pareille, et de vouloir rétablir l'ordre. Le Roi le sait très bien, car non seulement que j'en ai parlé dans toutes mes lettres, mais j'ai même cité des faits particuliers et j'ai prédis les suites qui arrivèrent de ce qu'on ne punit pas assez rigoureusement. Qu'on considère tout ce qui s'est passé depuis deux ans parmi les officiers, tout ce qu'ils ont entrepris contre les Généraux commandans, et que partout ailleurs on aurait regardé comme des horreurs, mais que chez nous on laisse impuni. Les choses sont même venues au point que les officiers qui vont à la Cour pour y pallier leurs fautes, bien loin qu'on les y reçoive mal, on s'étudie des les tranquilliser et de les contenter, sans se soucier de ce qu'il en arrive ensuite pour les Généraux. Le Roi y perdra le plus, car pour mon particulier, je tirerai mon épingle du jeu, préférant de manger du pain sec, à mener une vie où l'on n'a ni plaisir ni satisfaction, et où l'on est exposé de vivre avec des gens qui sont presque toujours ivres, et où l'on risque de perdre sa réputation et son honneur pour la vie."—*Extract of a Letter from Schulenburg to De Bose, Minister at War, August 30th*, 1704.

gratitude and attachment. This unlucky estrangement indeed proceeded at last so far, that a duel resulted between the two Generals, in which Schulenburg baffled and disarmed his adversary. Under all these circumstances, he felt desirous of leaving a service where command brought but little satisfaction or honour: there is no doubt that during this year overtures had been made to him by the Court of Vienna, and that he felt greatly disposed to turn his back on Dresden. But for some unexplained reason Eugene threw cold water on the project, or at least did not very warmly second it;* and in the meantime Augustus so contrived to oblige and to flatter his General, that at the last he succeeded in persuading him to remain in the Saxon service.

The events of the year 1704 were unfavourable to the King: although a Convention assembled by him at Cracow declared the acts of the Assembly at Warsaw illegal, the Primate persevered, and on the 19th of July declared Stanislaus Leczinski King. Charles XII., who had approached the capital for the purpose of supporting Stanislaus, and had signed a treaty of peace and alliance with the Primate in the name of the Republic, immediately marched southward to attack Augustus in Sendomir. It was now that Augustus devised and executed that brilliant manœuvre which, had it stood alone, would have marked him as a man of consummate genius,—his celebrated flank march along the Bug and Vistula. Advancing with secrecy and rapidity, while the Swedes were pursuing him in the direction of Galicia, he suddenly appeared, on the 31st of August, under the walls of Warsaw. Stanislaus and the chiefs of his faction had barely time

* Schulenburg's letter to Eugene is dated May 23rd, 1704: Eugene's answer, June 14th.

to escape, with the loss of all their baggage and equipage: the Confederation was broken up; and General Horn, who had thrown himself into the citadel, with a force of several hundred men, was compelled to capitulate, and surrender the place on the 3rd of September. Schulenburg was at this time manœuvring in Posen, but was recalled by the King, and effected his junction with the royal army on the 18th of September at Wisogrod, on the Vistula. With his Russian allies Augustus now saw himself at the head of 25,000 men, and detached a considerable force under Generals Brand and J. R. Patkul (of whom more hereafter), to lay siege to the fortress of Posen. The rest of the troops were cantoned on the line of the Narew, and between the Bug and Vistula, as well as along the latter river, for the purpose of watching the Swedes, who were still in Galicia. But Charles no sooner heard of the flight of Stanislaus, and the arrival of Augustus in Warsaw, than he broke up from Lemberg, and marched northward along the right bank of the Vistula, over-against the Saxon and Russian troops which watched the left bank nearly from Sendomir to Sakrozin. In the neighbourhood of Warsaw he crossed the river in the face of the Muscovites, who offered but a poor resistance, and compelled Augustus to retire. The King directed his march to Vnienau, a small place on the Warta; from thence he himself, with a portion of his cavalry, turned southwards towards Cracow, having given Schulenburg orders to retreat with the Saxon infantry by way of Kalisch, into Saxony. This operation, which was executed under the greatest difficulties, merited the approbation of Eugene, and placed Schulenburg in the first rank of contemporary Generals. On the 3rd of November Schulenburg set out from Vnienau. The King of Sweden fol-

lowed on his track with a greatly superior force entirely consisting of cavalry, and finally overtook him on the 7th near the town of Punitz. Hardly had his little army, consisting almost entirely of infantry (twelve battalions), halted to obtain a little rest after several days' fatiguing march, than the approach of the Swedes under Charles in person was announced. The King was accompanied by Leczinski, Prince John William of Saxe-Gotha, and Prince Max Emanuel of Würtemberg. Schulenburg rapidly drew up his force in order of battle on a spot which he had carefully selected, and here he awaited his enemy. The whole of his artillery consisted only of six small field-pieces, the Russians, whom he had despatched in advance by another road, having halted some miles off with his guns. His cavalry amounted to five hundred men, but they left him and fled into Saxony at the very commencement of the battle. The Swedes charged with their usual fury, but every attempt to break the compact squares was vain: the fire of the Saxons was so steadily and regularly maintained that every successive attack was repulsed,* and after several hours of fruitless efforts the Swedish horse fell into confusion and drew off, leaving Schulenburg in possession of the field: want of cavalry prevented his following up his victory, but some stand of colours, trumpets, and drums remained as his trophies. At a later period Charles XII. himself confessed that Schulenburg had beaten him at Punitz. But though the day was won, the army was not out of danger: Velling was advancing with a large body of fresh cavalry (4000 horse); and in spite of wounds and fatigue the Saxons again set out in

* The fight began late in the day, and towards sundown the fire, which increasing darkness rendered visible, startled the horses, and added to the confusion of the Swedish attack.

the same night, directing their course somewhat southward towards the Oder. Still hotly pursued by the Swedes, they finally reached this river on the 8th, and by the cautious and skilful arrangements of the General, passed it in safety, under the very eyes of Charles XII. Schulenburg was the last man that crossed:* the temporary bridge was destroyed, the boats all taken to the left bank, and the Saxon army was saved. They had marched about 210 miles in eleven days, had crossed one or two rivers, had won a pitched battle into which they were forced on unfavourable terms, and finally had succeeded in passing the Oder in the face of a far more numerous and a much fresher enemy. Their fatigue had been great, but their loss (of 500 men) comparatively small. Of their six guns, five had been dismounted at Punitz and thrown into a river, whence they were afterwards recovered by the Swedes. Nearly every officer on the staff had been wounded or killed; Schulenburg himself had received two slight shot-wounds in the breast, his hand had been shattered, his horse shot through and through under him; a ball had passed through his hat, and six were taken from various parts of his dress. Augustus immediately expressed his gratitude by promoting him to the rank of General of Infantry; an honour which for the present he thought it better for the service to decline, but which he accepted at a later period as the best way to escape from the inconveniences of his position in regard to Fleming.

The most part of the year 1705 Schulenburg spent in Dresden, or in journeys to Hanover and Wolfenbüttel, and he accompanied Frederick Augustus to the baths of Carlsbad. It was at this time that his duel with Fleming

* In a boat,—after seeing the bridge destroyed, and all the boats on the left bank.

took place, and that he again made an effort to leave the Saxon service. He had received applications from the Court of Hesse-Cassel, and from the Republic of Venice, to take the command of their troops; but his wish to retire was not granted by the King, and steps having been taken to prevent any further disagreement between himself and Fleming, he finally consented to remain where he was.* The attempt to reorganize the army occupied his whole attention, and to this duty he devoted himself till the close of the year. The only event of note in which he was concerned was the arrest of the celebrated Russian General Patkul, the details of which will be found in their proper place hereafter. During this period however the King's affairs were assuming a very unfavourable aspect in Poland: Charles XII. still maintained his superiority in the north, and on the 24th of September, 1705, Leczinski was crowned King at Warsaw, under the protection of the Swedish arms;† while on the 18th of November a treaty of peace between Sweden and the Republic was solemnly executed. In the month of July a serious loss had been incurred by Augustus. His Generals, Peikul and Daniel Bodo v. d. Schulenburg, a near relative of John Matthias, had attempted at the head of 4000 cavalry the same brilliant manœuvre by

* It was now that he accepted the rank of General of the Infantry. Fleming was at the same time made General of the Cavalry. By this arrangement all chance of collision was avoided, as both officers thenceforth took their orders *immediately* from the King. The retirement of Field-Marshal Steinau, whom Schulenburg considered his enemy, facilitated this arrangement, and decided Schulenburg to remain in the King's service.

† The Primate Radziejowsky however, deterred by a threatened excommunication on the part of the Pope, did not perform the ceremony of coronation; and on the 3rd of October he closed his turbulent and intriguing life at Danzig.

which Augustus had the year before driven his rival from Warsaw. Descending the right bank of the Vistula as far as Praga, they defeated a Swedish division and forced the passage of the river; but on the 31st they were attacked between Wohla and Warsaw by General Nieroth, and completely beaten. Peikul remained in the hands of the Swedes, and was executed as a traitor at Stockholm on the 14th of February, 1707. From Schulenburg's letters to Leibnitz, we learn that he had been attacked with a very serious illness at this time, and that he owed his recovery only to the skill of a self-taught peasant. But no sooner was his health somewhat re-established, than the alarming condition of affairs in Poland induced the King to command his immediate march into that kingdom with all the force that he could draw together. General Reinschild was posted with a small army (8000–9000) near the Silesian frontier, between the Warta and the Obra, and the King had formed the plan of cutting him off. In order to effect this, Schulenburg was directed to march straight upon the Oder and drive him back in the direction of Kalisch, while Augustus, who had again reached Warsaw, would fall upon him in the rear, and General Brause, who was at Cracow, was to take him in flank. With much reluctance, and after some ineffectual remonstrances, Schulenburg set out upon this ill-omened expedition. At first the Swedish General retreated before him, but having probably learnt the danger that threatened him in the rear, adopted the desperate resolution of cutting his way through Schulenburg's army, and taking refuge in Pomerania. He accordingly turned suddenly round and prepared to engage the Saxons in the neighbourhood of Fraustadt,* near Punitz, the scene of

* It is sometimes written Frauenstadt; but Schulenburg's own plan

Schulenburg's former victory. The Saxon army was in number greatly superior to that of Reinschild,* but a large proportion of it consisted of Muscovites, and of cavalry which had shown on too many occasions that no reliance could be placed in them. Schulenburg, being informed that Reinschild was retracing his steps with the intention of attacking him, advanced a little beyond Fraustadt to a strong position which he had already selected. He placed his Saxon infantry in two lines on the right, resting on the village of Gayersdorf; his Muscovite infantry in two lines on the left, resting on the village of Röhrsdorf: some infantry and a strong body of cavalry were placed in each village, and the rest were disposed to form a reserve: the whole front was covered with *chevaux-de-frise*, and a numerous though light artillery.† The Saxons were clothed in red; the Muscovites in white lined with red: they were therefore directed to put on their coats wrong side outwards, that the Swedes might not concentrate their attack upon them. In his strong position, Schulenburg was so confident of success, that he addressed his Generals, and said, "It would be only necessary to hold out a quarter of an hour, in order to defeat the Swedes; and that their army must be entirely destroyed in the retreat." On the 13th of February the Swedes attacked in a single line, and with great fury. Their first attempt upon the Saxon infantry was repulsed, but an almost simultaneous one on the village of Röhrsdorf succeeded through the cowardice and misconduct of

of the battle, which now lies before me, as well as the contemporary maps, give the name as I have printed it.

* Schulenburg had 19 battalions of Saxons, making an effective of 9711 men, 11 battalions of Muscovites, 6362 men; or a total of infantry, 16,073: his cavalry consisted of 36 squadrons.

† The artillery consisted of 32 pieces: 24 were three-pounders; 6 were six-pounders; and there were two howitzers besides.

the cavalry, which wheeled and dispersed almost without exchanging a blow or a shot. The Muscovites also did not stand their ground for a moment, but threw down their arms, broke and fled at the first discharge. In spite of every effort which Schulenburg and his Generals could make, the Saxon infantry was carried away by the same panic terror; and in a very short time the confusion and rout was complete. Schulenburg, though severely wounded, contrived to escape from the field, accompanied by only two officers. The Muscovites received no quarter at the hands of the Swedes, and the Saxon army was totally destroyed. The cavalry saved their skins; but the loss in infantry killed, wounded, and prisoners has been calculated at 5807 men: thirty-one pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the victors. Of the Saxon officers 157 were killed, wounded, or taken. The loss of the Muscovites is unknown, but must have been yet greater.

Neither his contemporaries nor his King, whose ruin it occasioned, attributed the loss of this battle to Schulenburg. His arrangements were admitted on all sides to be all that could be desired, and he had every reason to anticipate an easy victory. His defeat arose from the misconduct of the cavalry, and the panic terror of the Muscovite infantry. There will be found hereafter two interesting and yet unprinted letters,—one to his sister, communicating his misfortune; and one from Leibnitz, pouring balm upon his wounded spirit, by the assurance that no blame was attached to him for the unsuccessful issue of the day, in the opinion of all those friends who had long known him, and honoured his great military talents. A court-martial confirmed this judgement. The rout of Fraustadt rendered all further resistance to Charles XII. impossible. There were neither men, guns, time,

nor money to organize a new army, and the road to Dresden stood open. The Swedes advanced into the Saxon territory.* The resistance which Schulenburg attempted to make with the fragments of his dispirited army and some hasty new levies, was easily overpowered; his small force was driven out of Saxony altogether, and the Council of State, which governed the Electorate in the absence of Frederick Augustus, found it necessary to sue for peace. An obscure place called Altranstedt was the scene of the negotiations, if negotiations they can be called, which were on one side imperious commands, and on the other base compliances.† Augustus was to recognize Stanislaus as King of Poland: with great difficulty was Charles XII. brought to consent that this beaten rival might still retain the empty title of a King, and the empty honour of using the armorial bearings of the Republic. Excessive sums, in payment of the expenses of the war, were rigorously enforced.‡ But the crowning infamy of the treaty was the extradition of Lieutenant-General Patkul, for whom the Saxons well

* The Swedes had been detained in Poland, where Schulenburg had joined the King for several months. Their entry into Saxony was first effected on the 27th of August.

† The Saxon Ministers who negotiated this infamous treaty (signed Sept. 24th) were Anton Albrecht, Baron von Imhoff, and Georg Ernst Pfingsten. They were shortly afterwards brought to trial by the King's orders, on various charges amounting to high treason, and were found guilty. Imhoff was condemned to imprisonment for life, with confiscation of all his goods; but this judgement was commuted to imprisonment for ten years, and certain compositions for his property; and he seems to have regained his liberty after about six or seven years' confinement. Pfingsten was condemned to death; but this sentence appears also to have been commuted, and the unhappy Minister died in the fortress of Königstein, after twenty-eight years' imprisonment.

‡ Augustus reckoned the loss of the Saxons, in contributions, etc., at 23,000,000 thalers; Schulenburg taxed them at 21,000,000, somewhat about £3,000,000 sterling.

knew Charles XII. had a horrible death in store. Charles was indeed there with an army to which no opposition could be made, and he was not a man to desist from any demand he chose to make; but nevertheless the Saxon Ministers must be admitted to have acted with precipitation and weakness, if not with treachery, and for it they were in due time severely punished. Augustus, having no choice, ratified this peace on the 20th of October, and on the 5th of December returned to Dresden, whence he set out to meet his conqueror at Leipzig.

The conclusion of the war in Poland permitted him now to turn his attention to that which the allies were waging against France on the Rhine and in Flanders. In the course of the year 1707 he concluded a treaty of subsidy with the maritime powers, according to the terms of which he set on foot a contingent of about 3300 infantry and 825 horse. For some unexplained reason,* the command of these troops was given, not to Schulenburg, but to Lieutenant-General Count Wackerbarth; and the former seems to have passed the greatest part of this year in visits to his friends at Hanover and Wolfenbüttel, or in the *fêtes* and pleasures of the Saxon capital. But in the spring of 1708 he was despatched by the King with a secret mission to the head-quarters of Marlborough and Eugene, where he was well received by those great captains, and was present, though only as a volunteer, at the great victory of Oudenaerde (July 11th, 1708). In this quality he continued during the rest of the campaign, and was present at the siege and capitulation of the cities

* Probably through the influence of the Court of Vienna, where Wackerbarth stood in high credit. The destination of the Saxon corps was Flanders; but during 1707 it was employed on the Rhine, and in 1708 on the Moselle.

and citadels of Lille and Ghent. The skill and courage which he displayed on these several occasions cemented the mutual respect and friendship which Marlborough and Eugene already felt for him. At the particular desire of the first of these Generals, he was appointed, on the 18th March, 1709, to the command of the Saxon troops serving in the allied army, and was speedily employed in operations of importance; he conducted one of the attacks upon the city, and afterwards upon the citadel of Tournay, both which places were compelled to capitulate. During this campaign he was accompanied by one whose reputation in later times exceeded that of his master: Maurice, Count of Saxony,* then fourteen years old, learnt his first lessons in the art of war under those very officers whom at a later period he was to master at Fontenoy. The earlier part of the year 1709 was, it is well known, principally occupied with negotiations for peace, and Schulenburg, a veteran diplomatist, was frequently employed at the Hague, where he enjoyed the intimacy of De Torcy; but circumstances having rendered all hope of settlement vain, he returned in June to his command, and mustered his contingent at Brussels.

In 1709 he was present at Malplaquet and at the siege of Tournay, and in 1710 at that of Bethune.

The disgust which he felt for the conduct of affairs in Saxony finally induced him to leave that service. He seems in 1714 to have been anxious to enter that of Prussia, and to have spent some time at Berlin and Potsdam; but from his letters dated about this period,

* Maurice, Comte de Saxe, a Marshal of France, was the natural son of Frederick Augustus, by the beautiful and accomplished Marie Aurore of Königsmark. He was born at Goslan, October 29th, 1696, and died November 30th, 1750.

it is clear that the Prussian officers who had the most influence with the King were his enemies and rivals, and the wished-for appointment never took place. He was also a good deal at Hanover, where his too famous relative, Melusine, occupied a position of no honourable kind. In 1715 the Emperor Charles VI., in consideration of his great services, raised him to the rank of a Reichsgraf, or Count of the Empire. He seems never to have lost sight of the plan he had formed at a much earlier period, of entering the service of Venice; and on the 18th of December, 1715, he concluded, on the recommendation of Prince Eugene, with the Signoria, an engagement to take the supreme command of their forces by sea and land, with the title and appointments of a Field-Marshal. In this capacity, in 1716, he made the celebrated defence of the island of Corfu against the Turks, which still remains as one of the greatest feats of arms on record, and of which a description from his own hand will be found at its proper place. In this terrible siege the Turks are said to have lost 17,000 men, fifty-six pieces of artillery, and all their magazines, tents, and *matériel* of war. In the following campaign he continued his successes against the Turks, till the peace of Passarowitz (1718), defeating them on several occasions in the open field, and taking from them Prevesa, Voinitza, and Arta, with its gulf and citadel. On the close of the war he devoted himself to the improvement of the Venetian armies, and till the end of his service continued to be reputed one of the ablest soldiers in Europe. The Signoria rewarded him with splendid presents, and a yearly pension of 5000 ducats; medals in gold and silver were struck in his honour, and an equestrian statue, the work of Francesco Gobiano, was erected to him in the Place d'Armes of

Corfu, which a few years ago was still standing, but, I believe, has since been suffered to fall down. After remaining twenty-eight years in command of the Venetian armies, Schulenburg retired into private life, and travelled into several parts of Europe. He died at Verona on the 14th of March, 1747, leaving to his descendants a glorious name, but an inheritance involved in litigation, which has continued down to our own days. A picture of Schulenburg, in possession of his family, represents him; at an advanced period of life, as a man with large, coarse features, but expressive of a singular firmness of character and determined will; and these qualities appear to have distinguished him throughout the course of his active life, spent in almost incessant military adventure. His letters to Leibnitz, which are very numerous, at Hanover, show him to have been a man of very sound sense and clear judgement, and give a favourable impression of his accomplishments as a man of the world, and of his acuteness as a politician.

126.] LEIBNITZ TO SCHULENBURG (*Extract*).

Berlin, June 15th, 1702.

Even a little before my departure from Hanover, I learnt from M. de Goritz, and from other quarters, that regret was felt at losing the hope of seeing you again so soon as you had led us to expect; but as the King your master has recalled you at a period when he has the greatest need of persons of distinguished talent, and where difficulties make them appear to advantage, your interest in glory has prevailed over your pleasure, as it was just it should. His Majesty has such great resources in his own heroic qualities, and in the fidelity of his natural subjects, that I hope he will come gloriously

out of his affairs, however embarrassed they may be at this moment, and that you will have the satisfaction of having done good service to so great a Prince. However it is to be hoped that his great courage, and the confidence that he justly has in himself, may not lead him to venture too much, or let things go too far, and that his high spirit may not make him fancy his adversaries weaker than they are; which has often done wrong to the greatest personages, who sometimes resemble a skilful fencer that has to do with one whose strong and firm arms replace both science and address. I can scarcely believe that the Swedes, who are assembling in Pomerania, will dare to enter Saxony, whatever face they may put on it. This would be to quarrel with the Empire, and to run into the danger of being overwhelmed by a second conspiracy, which would be very advantageous for France, but would cost Sweden dear. I imagine that the treaties of defence between the King your master and those of Denmark and Prussia are still in force; and although many people have found by experience that it is not over-sure to trust to treaties, nevertheless there is more probability of their being executed when the parties concerned wish for nothing but a pretence for acting. I say nothing of the House of Brunswick, for the events of the last few years have left it a little out of the high-road in this respect; however I know certainly that they would be very sorry at Hanover to see a fire break out in the Empire, especially in the Circle of Upper Saxony, and that they will be glad to make such offers as are necessary to prevent it. I wish that the Emperor may have the succour he expects from the King, but I wish still more that Saxony may be saved from a misfortune; and I hope that the King either has stipulated or will stipulate something with the Emperor, in order that whatever is possible may be done to prevent the Swedes from invading the hereditary dominions of the King. People have seen copies of a treaty between the Emperor and the King which has alarmed the Swedes; but others assert that there are passages interpolated by certain people whose object it is to engage the King of Sweden on the side of France. How-

ever if his Imperial Majesty engage to make efforts to prevent an irruption into Saxony, he will only do that which is conformable to the duties of his supreme charge, and the Swedes will have all the less right to complain of this, inasmuch as they have refused to put any limits to the satisfaction to which they pretend. After having provided for the safety of Saxony, I suppose that his Majesty will do all that is necessary to maintain himself at Cracow, which will be sufficient to re-establish his affairs in Poland; but I imagine that the six to eight thousand men that they have drawn from Saxony will not be enough for that purpose, and that 12,000 would not be too many. One-half of them at least ought to be cavalry, for service in a country which consists in nothing but plains; and besides, I have always thought that since (well or ill) lances and cuirasses have now been almost given up, the greater part of our light cavalry ought to be reduced to dragoons,—in other words, taught to fight as infantry. It is to be thought that a large part of the army which is assembling in Pomerania, and which has been reinforced by part of the troops at Bremen, will go to Poland, in proportion to the number of Saxons which will be marched thither; and I think that the King of Sweden will draw principally cavalry there, as Sweden itself can more easily furnish him with infantry by sea; and as it will be easy enough for the King of Poland to replace in Saxony itself whatever cavalry he may draw from it, I think that he will take the same step. I imagine also some thousands of Cossacks and Muscovites would be very useful to his Majesty, especially if the Czar gives him the power of dispersing a portion of them among the Germans, in which case I think the Muscovites would do very well; and having learned from M. Prinz, the Envoy of the King of Prussia to the Czar, that his Czarish Majesty had left the King your master the absolute disposal of the auxiliary troops which he had granted him, having commanded his officers to follow blindly the orders of the Saxon Generals, I easily imagine the Czar will do as much now, or even more; for, to tell the truth, the Czar is very much interested in the maintenance of

the King in Poland, it being very evident that, if the Swedish party were to prevail in the Republic, it would be able to draw Poland into an engagement with that Crown against the Czar, and I do not doubt that the King has had this properly represented at Moscow. Above all, I suppose that his Majesty will have done everything that is possible to remove from the spirit of the Poles, who are so jealous of their liberties, all unfavourable impressions which ill-intentioned persons may have given of his objects. When I was a very young man a person of great consideration engaged me to write a memoir in favour of the House of Neuburg, which aspired to the Polish throne. This memoir was printed in Prussia without the author's name, and it has been mentioned favourably by celebrated writers. I had then given some little study to Poland, but I have now forgotten the details which I then knew; still I have retained something of my knowledge of the genius of this people, with whom eloquence and brilliancy have great effect. The point of honour makes some impression among the Poles, but interest and their wants make even more. All peoples have become more patient than they were heretofore; but there are some who will put up with more from a stranger, who is an enemy to their chief, than they would from their chief himself,—witness the Germans, as well as the Poles. Thus it is more probable that these last will do nothing considerable against the King of Sweden, than that they will make considerable efforts for their own Prince; but if his Majesty should happen to gain some considerable advantage, there would be plenty of people who would not be the last to cry out against the Swedes, and to pursue them. It is a little astonishing that the clergy do not stir, when a Protestant Prince enters into the heart of their country, and that the Papal Nuncio does not put them in mind of their duty. A report was current that the Cardinal-Primate and the late Grand-General Jablonoski had an understanding with the King of Sweden, but that after the death of Jablonoski the Primate had been regained by the benefits of the King. If this is so, it is to be feared he will

return to the Swedes, and favour them, after he has got all that he wanted from the King. It is possible however that his present intention is only to tie up the King's hands; but he may let himself be led further on. Thus his Majesty, although he ought to make every possible effort to keep or regain the goodwill of the Poles (such efforts, I mean, as cost him nothing), must nevertheless not count upon them in any respect, and must rely exclusively on what depends upon himself. I do not know if the ministers of the Allies have made serious proposals to the King to make him join the Grand Alliance; in this case, I think his Majesty ought not to keep apart from it, even if at first they should promise no more than their good offices in bringing about a peace with Sweden. They would be drawn still further on if they saw themselves deprived, through the obstinacy of his enemies, of the considerable succour which the King could furnish; and this all the more because it is certain that in fact the King of Sweden was making a strong diversion in favour of France; although this is only indirectly, as the Swedish ministers profess loudly in every quarter, the effect is still the same as if Sweden was allied with France, and even more mischievous still, for Sweden, as long as she does not lift the mask, acts with the greater impunity on the side of France. These things being represented forcibly, and with every possible mark of a sincere intention, might move the great body of the allies, and particularly the maritime powers, whose demands, if made with a little vigour, would soon make this obstinacy bend or break; for it is sure that if the Swedes continue obstinate in this case, they would play a ruinous game, and would make us Germans believe that we could never be in safety till we had driven them out of Germany. It is not to be desired that things should go so far, and I hope before they try the experiment a second time, they will put a little water in their wine. You see, Sir, that I obey your orders, and tell you everything that passes through my head on the subject of Poland; I obey, I say, at the risk of appearing ridiculous to you, who are on the spot at the foun-

tain-head, and to whom my reflections must seem very flat or very empty.

I wish I had something more instructive to tell you on other subjects. I have been to Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel, and spent my Whitsun holidays there. I have spoken to Privy-Councillor De Boses at Saltzdalen, who told me he wished to go to Hanover; M. de Mincwitz had just left it; M. the Count Platen, the son, is to go as Envoy Extraordinary to England to congratulate the Queen. At Brunswick I spoke with Mgr. the Duke Rudolph, and at Salzdalen with Mgr. the Duke Antoine, and I learnt a good many things that surprised me, for they did me the honour to speak confidentially with me, although I am far from flattering them, and, unless they had found a sort of very solid determination *de non offendendo*, they had very good reason to take umbrage; but this certainly was difficult to find, although perhaps it would not have been impossible. But, as nothing was done to that end on both sides, it is not strange that the two Courts have taken their time; but I could wish, at the same time, every possible step might be taken to regain Duke Antoine, which I should have thought feasible, because this Prince is very sensible to civil treatment. It would have been the proper way to put matters upon nearly the same footing as they were while President Heimburg lived. God grant that both sides may yet make up their minds to this! M. Imhoff has no longer the post of President of the Chamber. Mgr. the Duke Rudolph insists upon an inquiry into his conduct, and Mgr. the Duke Antoine thinks it right he should have an opportunity to justify himself. It had been asserted at Hanover that by his negligence he had lost the time for drawing the money from France; but at Wolfenbüttel I was assured this was not so, and that France, having got information in good time of what was in contemplation through the Duke of Ploen, had taken its precautions. The Court of France knew it earlier than that of Wolfenbüttel, and they say that it was by the way of England. The plan of the late King of Great Britain was, that Kaiserswerth should be attacked almost as

soon as the enterprise of the Courts of Zell and Hanover against Wolfenbüttel should be carried into effect, and I know that our ministers expected it. The plan was to let provisions come from the Dutch magazines, by way of the Rhine, and Marshal de Boufflers would have found it impossible to counteract this plan, because he could not take the field for want of forage, so that both Rheinberg and Kaiserswerth would quickly have been disposed of, and the more so because the season was favourable. The bad effects of the King of England's death were only too apparent; and besides, what you, Sir, yourself say of the negligence with which military affairs are treated (on which nevertheless the safety of States often depends), is only too true; but I find that they hardly treat of State and finance much better. People understand very little in Germany of what the English call political arithmetic, that is to say the profound reasonings which enter into a great detail of practice: this is because that study requires a profound application, and people find it more convenient to reason in the lump. But the event generally shows that misfortunes might have been foreseen; and following the cavalier and superficial manner of treating matters, the same thing happens in business, which they teach us in theology, namely that all that is good comes to us from God, and all evil from ourselves; that is to say, when we succeed it is a piece of good luck, and when we fail it is our own fault. What touches me the most in the bad management of military affairs is that people take so little care of the men, whom they leave, or cause, to perish for no purpose. We have just at present received news of the attack on the counterscarp of Kaiserswerth: it seems they have only carried one corner of it. The King of Prussia alone must have lost between two and three hundred men there, for the day before the attack the enemy had lodged about eight battalions in the place: so here is the siege of a summer-house turned into a siege of Ostend. Our three thousand men have arrived, and the Hessian troops also. They say that this is the reason that the Duke of Burgundy has decamped, and they hope that the place will surrender. But there will still be Rhein-

berg and Bohain left, to finish clearing the Lower Rhine. The great animosity that prevails between the Whigs and the Tories give many people a bad opinion of the affairs of England; the latter complain of the present Government. But they themselves, when they thought they had the upper hand, made a bad use enough of their power, particularly in respect to the Earl of Rochester, who now takes his revenge; but he would do well to sacrifice it for the good of his country. Many people think him a Jacobite, but I believe they do him wrong, at least I cannot see that they found their suspicions on anything real. The English are a little too lively, and exaggerate everything. If the King of the Romans goes to the Upper Rhine, as is supposed (although it is to be wished he would rather turn his attention to Italy), the Queen his Consort will journey with him, and go to Heidelberg. In this case perhaps the Queen of Prussia and the Electress will visit her at Frankfort, where the Queen of the Romans may go, as there will be less ceremony in the interview. If they only succeed in taking Landau (although the enterprise is not one of the easiest things in the world), it will not be any great matter. The true way to embarrass France, in the judgement of the late Generals de Pedenell and De Mont,—both of them, in my opinion, great men in their way,—is to attack on the side of Trèves and Metz; that is where she is most penetrable. But it will be necessary for the Princes of Germany to give themselves a little more trouble in order to execute any great design, and to follow the advice of the late Duke of Würtemberg, who always counselled the Elector of Bavaria to retrench his superfluous defences, and to put himself in a condition not to draw any money from Bavaria, which would become exhausted at last. If this Prince had listened to his advice, France would not now have him at her discretion, and would have abided by the Partition treaty. The news from Italy gets worse every day: the French have passed the Oglio high up, without troubling themselves about its being Venetian territory; and they add, that a part of the succours that were to have joined Prince Eugene, and which were already in the

Veronese, has been cut off. However the judgement which you express about the affairs of Italy still consoles me and gives me courage. I am very glad to hear what you tell me of the vanity of the French officers and engineers, who think themselves superior to others *di gran lungo*. I have always said that they were not greater men than we are, but that we are more in want of great men than they are, because the multitude of the Allies always renders the execution difficult. I do not know, Sir, if you are acquainted with the plan of fortification of Mannheim which Mr. Cohorn has given the Elector Palatine; they say it is something exceedingly good, and which will be much stronger than New Brisac if executed as it ought to be. But we ought to study the art of taking fortresses rather than that of fortifying them; for France being in possession, the thing is to turn her out. It is true, if the English and Dutch fleets were to strike any great blow in Spain, and if the Imperial army could enter on the side of Metz, we should spare a good deal of way and a good deal of time; for as to taking everything by means of sieges, one might as well attempt to drink the sea dry. The Elector of Bavaria has felt some jealousy at the movement of the Imperial troops, who are to go to the Upper Rhine. It is not yet known what answer he has given to the Count de Schlick. I hope that he will keep quiet, and that he will be left a little in quiet too. Our Envoy, the Abbé Steffani, is coming back from those parts. If the Emperor had not at first turned his forces and his views towards Italy, this Prince would have been obliged to sing and do like the rest; and after that the armies might have been marched into Italy, at the same time that the combined fleets would have gone to Spain and the Mediterranean. But what is done is done, and God may direct it to a good end.

What pleases me in Prince Eugene is that he is enterprising, but with great judgement; that he devises extraordinary plans, and executes them with great punctuality. I am tempted to think that, in order to reduce the great power of the House of Bourbon to the extent which is required, it will be necessary to change the ordinary course of military

affairs by new inventions and by unexpected means, which it seems to me might be employed, not only in the attack of places, but also for action in the field; but one must be in the profession in order to execute them properly and give them the requisite perfection. War is more susceptible of novel plans than politics, because war depends in a great measure on physics and mechanics; while, on the other hand, affairs of State, with the exception of finance, are only founded upon reasonings which anybody may discover if he will only give himself the pains; but since men in general have little application, those who have the talent of application and detail may strike quite as good blows, as in war, in choosing proper persons for their execution.

I shall look for Privy-Councillor Osten, if he is at Berlin, in order to give him your compliments. As for M. Baron Fuchs, he is gone in the King's suite, after having first signed the treaty of Brunswick as one of the Guaranteeing Powers. He passed so quickly through Hanover that he saw nobody there, so that I spoke with him indeed before his mediation, but not since. I see that people are pretty well satisfied with him on both sides; in fact he could hardly serve for anything more than a witness, inasmuch as matters were in a pretty forward state before his arrival; and neither he nor M. de Kettler, the Marshal of Cassel, thought fit to offer the slightest obstacle to the conclusion, because they apprehended that, if the affair was protracted, France would be able to direct some forces toward the Weser; besides I suspect that the Courts of Berlin and Cassel are not at all sorry that Hanover and Zell should drive Wolfenbüttel into a corner without however taking from him his country, his prerogatives, or liberties, hoping by these means that the Court of Wolfenbüttel will detach itself more and more from the rest of the House, and thus weaken it. It is on this very account that I should have wished that, after having gained the principal point, that is of security, the most reasonable conditions possible should have been offered to the Princes of Wolfenbüttel, so as to spare them everything that might have the ap-

pearance of humiliating them. I had taken on myself so much liberty as to write letters on purpose to people of authority who were with the Princes at Burgdorf; but if one does not adopt all the passions and views of other people, one is looked upon with suspicion, which disgusts me sometimes. This however is between ourselves; for I do not want to set myself up as a censor, and every one does according to his comprehension: *chi ben farà, ben troverà.* However it is annoying that people with the best intentions, and who think themselves obliged in conscience not to hide their thoughts on certain occasions, should pass for favourers of the opposite party; and that had been carried so far in regard to myself that when I went afterwards to Burgdorf a certain Prince put the question to me, before the whole table, how I liked the Wolfenbüttel manifesto. I turned my answer as if I did not perceive what was intended.

We learn that the Cardinal is going to confer personally with the King in Sweden; that some of the Palatines and the army are for the King. M. the General Fleming has been here, and went away last Sunday; this was before my arrival. The King of Prussia is making a tour in Holland, and it seems as if he would like not to return till after the taking of Kaiserswerth. The Estates commit the question of the succession to the decision of the lawyers and tribunals. May I venture, Sir, to entreat a favour of you? This year's almanac, made in the Czar's dominions, is wished for here, according to the rite and style of his country. I think it would be easy to get one from Kiow; therefore I entreat you to charge some one with this, and to address your orders for me to your agent or residence here.

I am, Sir, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

I have noticed already that Schulenburg had retired abruptly from the service of Savoy, and in a manner, to say the least of it, greatly wanting in courtesy to the Prince who had employed him. This conduct was ac-

cordingly much resented at Turin, and the Duchess of Savoy had animadverted upon it in her correspondence with the Electress and the Duchess of Orléans. On the 22nd of May, 1702, Schulenburg wrote to Leibnitz a very long letter, to which the above is an answer. In the course of his letter he laboured more ingeniously than ingenuously to vindicate his proceedings, with the evident view of putting himself in the right at Hanover and Wolfenbüttel. Leibnitz undertook this for him, and made an abstract of Schulenburg's statement, which he read to the Electress and the Queen of Prussia, and which was by them sent to Turin, with qualified success, as a subsequent letter will show. Schulenburg however remained undisturbed in the service of Frederick Augustus. The portion of Leibnitz's letter which I have omitted referred to this negotiation, and contained the copy of the abstract prepared for the Electress and for the Duchess of Savoy.

127.] SOPHIA CHARLOTTE TO MADEMOISELLE DE PÖLLNITZ.

Lutzelbourg, [n. d. but ? 1702 or 3.]

J'ai du chagrin, ma chère Poellnitz; il faut que je me soulage en vous le communiquant. Outre d'autres sujets que vous pénétrez, j'en ai un que votre amitié pour moi à pressenti. Le jeune homme, que je ne croyois que vif et impétueux, a donné des preuves d'une dureté, qui surement tire son origine d'un très mauvais cœur. "Non," dit la Bülow, "ce n'étoit que par avarice." Dieu, tant pis! Avare dans un âge si tendre! On se corrige d'autres vices, mais celui-là augmente, et puis, de quelle importance n'est-ce pas par les suites que cela entraine! La compassion et la pitié peuvent-elles trouver accès

dans un cœur que l'intérêt domine? Dohna est honnête homme; il a de la probité et de la noblesse dans les sentimens; mais son defaut est aussi un esprit d'économie, et on corrige mal un défaut qu'on approuve intérieurement. Je l'ai fort chapitré, et comme cela n'arrive pas souvent, j'ai appuyé sur tout, et me suis rappelé toutes ses mauvaises façons d'agir en plusieurs occasions. A cela joint les plaintes que les dames m'ont faites, qu'il leur dit des sottises. Ma colère est allé jusqu'à l'emportement. Est-ce là le ton des belles âmes? Y a-t-il de la grandeur à offenser? Quelle grossièreté dans l'esprit, de tenir de mauvais propos à un sexe formé pour être l'objet au moins de la politesse des hommes! L'Abbé entra tandis que je sermonnois; "Que ceci est auguste!" dit-il; "il me semble voir Agrippine qui parle à Néron." Indignée de la comparaison et frémissant de l'augure, je le reçus fort mal: il s'en alla en tremblant, et j'ai reçu ces vers, ou plutôt l'élégie ci-jointe, qui a fait sa paix. J'ai tous les symptômes d'une fièvre de fluxion; il y a un peu de bile; mais tout ce qui porte au cœur ne peut qu'être sensible. Venez bientôt partager mes peines et mes plaisirs; j'en ai un bien grand à apprendre, que vous vous remettez. Adieu, adieu, ma chère!

CHARLOTTE R.

128.] ELLIS TO STEPNEY.

Whitehall, 2 *Oct.*, 1702.

Sir,

I have the favour of more then one of yours, by your permission, to acknowledge, but, having made a great Rout amongst my papers, at this time, they are not at hand to mention the dates of them. I am much obliged to you for the Liberty you are pleased to allow mee to use my own hand, or when that cannot conveniently be, anothers, in the letters I trouble you with. Great attention is taken here to the proposall you have made, in relation to the Kings of Sweden and Poland, and I am of opinion you may have the honour of making up that affaire, if the Generall, to whom

copies of your letters are sent, doe approve of it. This is *inter nos*, and so is this circumstance that follows. Yesterday L. Nott, meeting mee, askt mee, if I knew your Secretary. I said, I believed I did, & that he was a German. Then said he, Is he an ingenious, sensible man? I suppose he is, said I, otherwise he would not have chosen him. My answers, I allow, were somewhat at random, the questions being not expected, but I was right in the first, and the second I leave to further enquiry. If I may guesse at the occasion of these Interrogatories, it will be, that they design to send you upon a Mediation, and to leave your Secretary at Vienna in the mean time, but this is only a conjecture, however I thought I ought to acquaint you with this, the Enquiry having been made with an air of importance. I have seen to day your freind my Lord Hal. who is much rejoyced to hear that the News of your being to be removed, which is in all our ridiculous prints, is not true. Wee are in much impatience to hear News from the Fleet, having had none since 28 of Aug., neither have wee anything of the gallions, w^h^ makes some people think they are still in America.

I am ever, Sir, etc. etc.,

J. Ellis.

129.] Mr. Secretary Hedges to Stepney.

Whitehall, 3*d Nov.*, 1702.

Sir,

I have received to day the favour of yours of 28 past, N. S., with the Memoriall that was enclosed. Some objections being made in Holland against your goeing to the King of Sueden, that matter is deferred till the Earl of Marlborough comes over, which will be with the first wind; but I thought it was fit to give you as early notice as I could of this rubb, that you might not lanch out into expences on occasion of that Journey, till it is further settled. I am, Sir, etc. etc.,

C. Hedges.

130.] THE DUCHESS OF SAVOY TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

[1702.]

'J'ay vu, Madame, la lettre que vous m'avez envoyé de M. de Schoulembourg, et l'ay monstrée à S. A. R. Mais, Madame, la franchise avec laquelle j'ay tousjours l'honneur de vous parler, fait que dans cette occasion je vous diray, comme à mon ordinaire, ce que je pense. Je ne doute pas qu'il ne fût obligé de quitter nostre service; mais j'auray voulu qu'il eût demandé congé. Au cas qu'il n'eût pas pû accommoder ses affaires, comme il prétendoit, pour pouvoir revenir, ce n'est pas le premier étranger à qui on l'ait donné dans toute la guerre. La bonne opinion que j'ay tousjours eue de luy, est ce qui m'a le plus frappé de le voir quitter sans nous le dire; car du reste, je ne désapprouve pas qu'il l'ait fait, mais la manière seulement. Cependant, Madame, puisque Vous me dites qu'il est inconsolable, je Vous prie de luy faire dire, que j'ay vu avec plaisir sa lettre, et le chagrin qu'il a de pouvoir nous avoir deplû, estant une marque de son zêle pour Nous.

131.] SOPHIA CHARLOTTE, QUEEN OF PRUSSIA, TO LEIBNITZ.

1702.

Vous ueres par ce billet, Monsieur, limpatiance que iay de vous voir icy, et combien iestime vostre conuersation, le recherchant auec tout lempressement imaginable. Iespere que uous maporteres la nouelle que tout a bien termine auec Wolfenbutel, qui et une afaire que ie regarde iuste et glorieuse pour nos Princes. Il semble pourtant que le duc antoine na pas sy grande enuie detre force, come on le disoit, ou il ioue la comedie a merueille, car il na iamais paru davantage dans son naturel que a present; vous me deueloperes les sentimens ausy, ie lespere de lamy de genetat, car ie regarde cette matiere come un agreable amusement, mais qui ne minquiette pas, car mon

temperament tranquille mmspire que iay beaucoup moins a craindre pour lavenir que pour le present; car tant que iay un corps ie sens par experiance quil et suiet aux soufrances, et quand ie nen aures plus ie ne men puis pas faire didée sy triste de lincomodite que aura lame, come les gens de certain ordre le ueulent faire croire; et toute la peur que mons Ohsson tache a me doner du diable ne ma pas encore fait craindre la mort. Ie souhaitte que vous soyez long tems a savoir ce qui en est de veritable, et que nous raisonerons cependant gayement dune matiere qui paroit a tout autre serieuse que a vous, qui aprofondises les choses. Si uous pouies trouer le moyen de replacer la belle arme du roy guilaume dans quelque corps sain et agisant, cela seroit fort necesaire pour soutenir la cause comune; mais ie crains quil faudra des siecles avant quelle ou une pareille reparoisse sur nostre horison. Voila assez galimatiser; pour finir, ce qui ne les point cet lestime que iay pour vostre merite; cet qui doit encore vous presser de venir et une œuvre de charite, car la pelnitz a achette un liure ou on aprend les matematiques, quelle veut etudier; et les termes et le sens luy et sy dificile que sy vous ne uenez la secourir la teste luy tournera: pour moy ie me suis contentees de voir les figures et les nombres sans lire, car tout cela et du grec pour moys; il ny a que lunite, dont iay une petite idee, grace a uos soins.

132.] HEDGES TO STEPNEY (*Cipher*).

Whitehall, Jan. 5, 170$\frac{2}{3}$.

Sir,

I have received yours of 23 past, and notwithstanding what you say therein, you are to follow the Directions I have lately sent you in relation to *the Almirante*, and his project, which you are not to depart from, without particular order, Her Ma^{ty} thinking it a very extraordinary thing that he should be made Arbitrator of the terms with *Portugall*, after the great offers that she has made in that point. You are to press for terms to be offered to *the Elector of Bavaria*, and that one of them

be the *yielding him Naples*, which is the thing that is most likely to satisfy *that Elector*, whereof *the Emperor* may please to give him such Assurances as he shall think most proper. Her Majty thinks it of very great importance to the common cause that no time should be lost in *gaining that Prince* almost at any rate; and whatever *territories* or *dominions the Emperor* shall think fit to *allow him* for *his satisfaction*, her Majty is willing, in conjunction with the States Genll, to give *her Garanty* for maintaining the same: you are to endeavour to gett a list of all the Forces design'd by the Emperor for Italy, and send it to me as soon as possibly you can. I am, etc. etc.,

C. HEDGES.

133.] FOUNTAINE TO LEIBNITZ.

Zell, March 16th, 1703.

Dear Sr,

I give you many thankes for your obligeing letter, and doe assure you that, though the diversions at Hannover were very numerous, they did not in the least make me forget you, and amidst all the entertainments I never failed of enquiring earnestly after your health; every body was desirous of your company here, and we were all sorry to find that your stay at Berlin would be longer than was expected. I doe assure you, that for my part I am soe well satisfied with the Carneval and with the civilities that I received at Hannover, that I will not faile, if it please God, to return thither once more; and there is nothing I desire more than an opportunity of convincing the Electrice and all her family that nobody can be more sincerely gratefull than I am; and that I should misse no occasion of serving her Electorall Highnesse, and all that belongs to her. Let me beg of you, if you can doe it *à propos*, to assure the Queen how intirely sensible I am of the great Honour Her Majesty has done me by speaking soe frequently to my advantage, and that I esteem it my greatest happynesse to be in the good opinion of soe great and soe wise a Princesse. You may be sure that I shall not forget you when I am amidst

my medales; on the contrary, I shall often wish for you, to explain what I don't understand; the Electrice did me the honour to receive the poor present I made her, and in return gave me a most noble gold medall, which I shall alwaies keep as the greatest treasure I have; and should be very glad when you write next to her Electorall Highnesse, if you would let her know, how much I esteem the great bounty she showed me. I desire you not to trouble yourself about the night gown, and shall be very glad if you will accept soe small a present, and I am of opinion that I doe service to the Republick of letters in taking care of your health. I shall be at Hamborough, I hope, within 10 or 12 days, and if you have any commands to lay upon me, pray direct to me at Mr. Stratford's. I am most sincerely, Dear S^r^,

Your obliged humble Servant,

A. FOUNTAINE.

My most humble respects to the pritty and witty Mademoiselle Pelnitz.

134.] ADDISON TO LEIBNITZ.

Hague, July 10th, 1703.

Sir,

I have wisht for a pretence to trouble you with a letter ever since I had the honour of your Conversation at Berlin. I am sorry the first I write shoud be to solicite a favour of you. But as you are evry where known to be the great promoter as well as Master of all kinds of usefull Learning, I have lately receiv'd a Letter from a friend of mine that is now upon an Edition of Cæsar's Commentarys, and desires me to make you acquainted with his Design. He has heard that the King of Prussia has one of those Buffalos that Julius Cæsar calls an *Urus*, and gives so particular a description of. He intends to spare no cost in the Edition of this Book, which will probably be the noblest volume that ever came from the English press. He woud therefore be very glad to get a Drawing of this Beast,

f possible, which he woud have engraven at Amsterdam, where they are now at work on several other prints that are to have a place in the same Book. He intends to enrich his Edition with Palladio's Cutts of Cæsars Battles, Machines and Encampments, with all the ancient Medals, Statues & *Bas reliefs* that have any relation to his Authour, and with prints of any modern pictures that have bin taken from the Commentaries, and are esteem'd by the best Masters. One of the greatest ornaments of his Book however woud be any observations of Mr. Leibnits. If therefore you think it worth your while to compare the Animal with the description that Cæsar has made of it, and to see whether it has all the Qualities that are there attributed to it, or any other that are there omitted, I am sure it woud be a very great Obligation, not only to the Undertakers of this Work, but to the learned world in general. The Book will be a large Folio, and has for its subscribers the greatest of the nobility in England with Prince Louis of Baden and prince Eugene at the head of 'em. The Undertaker is Mr. Tonson.

I had last night the honour to drink your Health with Mr. Haley, who is on a Second Voyage to the port of Bucali in the Venetian Gulfe: for our ministers of State so well approve of ye description he has made of it that they are resolv'd to fit it up if the Emperour does not fail 'em. He tells me that there is an Excellent Road for ships of the greatest burden, and that the Basin itself, which is Land-lock'd of all sides, is capable of holding sixty Men of War. Pray, Sir, excuse the trouble of this Letter, and if I can execute any of your Commands here or in England be pleas'd to honour me with 'em. A Letter directed for me to the Hague will find, Sir,

Your most Obedient and
most humble Servant,
J. Addison.

Note by Leibnitz.

(Il sera bon d'en écrire à M. Hamrath.)

The note in Leibnitz's hand was speedily followed by a practical interference. There is a short correspondence,

of no particular interest; but at a later period, as we learn from a letter of Sir Hans Sloane, the scientific description and drawings of this *Urus* were transmitted to the Royal Society. I doubt whether the plan was ever carried out: the book does not appear in Schweiger's admirable catalogue, and though Tonson published one or two editions of Cæsar's Commentaries, I do not find any in folio, or with the sort of illustrations noticed by Addison. The times were favourable to the production of little but pamphlets that were violent libels.

135.] QUEEN SOPHIA CHARLOTTE OF PRUSSIA TO LEIBNITZ.

Lutzbourg, ce 14 daust, [1703.]

Ie ne doute pas que uous ne soyez en peine, monsieur, depuis que nous avons receu une meauaise nouelle icy; car vous conoises la sensibilité de Mad. Lelectrice pour ces enfens: pour cela ie vous dires que elle a fort bien suporte sa douleur, et fait ce quelle peut pour ce la mestre hors de lesprit, et elle reusit du moins en ce point quelle nen est pas malade, ce que ie craigner fort, conoisant son temperament, quelle ne peut pas pleurer, ce qui soulage d'ordinaire. Elle a rendu la uisite au Roy a chonhausen hier, ou elle a uu du monde; il en uient ausy icy, ce qui sert a la distraire: sy vous esties icy, vostre bone conuersation y contribueroit beaucoup ausy, et a mon egard ie la regrette ausy beaucoup. Cependent ie uous prieres de menuoyer les discours que vous auez fait pour mons. Lelecteur. Come ie suis de mesme sentiment que vous sur ce suiet, ie seres rauie de my voir fortifié par des bones raisons. Le philosophe alemand que vous me depeignez doit estre un rare personage; il me semble quil et ausy outre sur son sentiment, que le pere bonhours sur le contraire. Ie ne desespere pas encore de vous voir icy, monsieur; et ie crois que ie nay

pas besoin de vous dire combien ie le souhaitte, car ie vous estime, et suis autant que lon le peut estre afectionée a vous servir.

SOPHIE CHARLOTTE.

Ie vous enueres bien des nouelles publiques, mais ie crois que vous les auez plus fraiches et ueritables a henhausen que lon na icy.

Vous naures plus persone auec qui vous recrier sur les calamités pupliques, car la bone mad steland et morte avant que iay seu quelle etoit malade; elle a eu une colique, a quoi cet ioint une apoplexie.

136.] LEIBNITZ TO THE EARL OF ROXBURGH.

September, 1703.

My Lord,

I have been charmed to learn under your own hand that you are in good health, and that you continue to think kindly of me. You have added to it the high treat of a book by one of your countrymen on some subtle points of mathematics, for which I return you my humble thanks; it was late in arriving here, having gone by way of Bremen, otherwise I would have answered you sooner. However I did not delay to express to the Queen of Prussia the sentiments which your Lordship continues to entertain towards Her Majesty, who has done me the favour to reply in terms so flattering to yourself that I have not another word to add to them.

This Mr. Cheinaus, the author of the book, seems capable of doing something of use; and I wish that he may follow Mr. Pitcairne's example, and unite inquiries into Natural Science, and particularly into diseases, with his mathematical labours. The Scotch prove clearly enough that their genius can quite keep pace with that of the English. MM. David Gregory and Creigh are taking successful pains with mathematics; but the late Mr. James Gregory especially was an excellent genius. I say nothing of the illustrious Lord Napier, the author of

the Logarithms. I hope also that Mr. Cunningham, whom I was formerly acquainted with at Florence, will do honour to his country whenever he shall choose to communicate to the public the great knowledge he possesses.

Public affairs would be without doubt as well regulated among yourselves, as the talents of those who have the management of them are eminent, if distinguished talents always applied themselves to that which is really good; but they too often pursue a vain grandeur which renders them as miserable as all the rest. I have always thought that all that Europe can do at present is to rescue itself from an imminent slavery by a strict union; but people sometimes use this pretext to take false precautions against tyranny, and many expect to profit by the public necessities to settle their own private affairs, or carry some party object. They will be deceived, in this manœuvre; the end of which will be, unless Providence throws some extraordinary obstacle in the way, that we shall see tyranny triumphant both over soul and body in Christendom. I should be very sorry if your country and mine were to be included; but neither the inhabitants of your islands nor those of our Continent make all the efforts which are necessary to guard themselves against it. Wisdom and virtue there will always be in the world, and will always bear their price in spite of public revolutions; but to show themselves they require both means and good health. If God preserves the last to you, my Lord, as I hope, you will have no cause to complain on the other score.

I have put every imaginable kind of machinery in action in favour of Mr. Burnet, who is at this moment a prisoner in the Bastille, being authorized thereto by the Queen of Prussia and M. the Electress, and being myself convinced that they have done him wrong. They have given us hopes of his release; but since our intercourse with France has now for some time been interrupted, we get our news from that quarter very late; but you, my Lord, will know how the matter stands.

M. the Electress is gone to Lützenburg to the Queen, and there she learned the sad news of the death of her son Duke

Christian. I am very glad that it was rather there than here; since the King and Queen and all Berlin will have made it their business to divert her mind from sad thoughts, to which end the variety and novelty of objects contribute greatly. He was a Prince of much merit and virtue; I have rarely met with a heart better disposed. Unhappily filled with false impressions against the law of succession established in this country, he made it a point of honour to maintain pretensions from which Mme. the Electress gave herself great pains to wean him; but on this subject he appeared invincible, and preferred reducing himself to live upon the poorest footing to giving them up, which, in the concatenation of things, has at length caused his ruin. I am, my Lord, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

To my Lord Roxburgh, Peer of Scotland.

137.] SOPHIA CHARLOTTE, QUEEN OF PRUSSIA, TO LEIBNITZ.

A Berlin, ce 13 *de Nouembre* [1703].

Come Madame lelectrice et de retour, iay sy peur que vous moubliez, monsieur, que ien suis plus exacte a vous remercier de vostre derniere lettre. Vous voyez quil y a un peu de ialousie en moy, qui me fait parler ainsy; vous ne pouez la guerir que en uenant apres le carnaval icy. Ie voudrois que ce fut auec moy; se seroit un signe que ihires a hanover, ce que iespère, encore, mais ne le say pas seurement, car tout et fort variable dans ce monde. Ie ne vous dis rien de la P. de zolern; cet une matiere trop ample et qui demande une grande lettre. Les nouelles dicy sont que le margraue dansbach et aupres du roy a orienbourg; que sa seur et partie, qui et une Princesse dont Mad Lelectrice vous fera le portrait; que ie suis tres seule icy, et nay dautre plaisir que dauoir des nouelles: ien ay eue de Saxe que le Roy de pologne a done la maison de beugling a plug, et a sa feme les meubles; que lon acuse celuy cy de sortilesges et davoir comunication auec les esprits; que son frere le fauconier souhaitte de voir sa feme avec luy, qui et

fille de mons haxthausen, et quil ne la peut seulement pas voir; que le felt-marchal Stein[au] leve des trouppes a coups de batons, sans argent; que la noblesse se plaint extremement du P. furstenberg. Mad fleming et touiour icy, mais son mary et en voyage, ie ne say ou. Le roy son maistre cependeñt et mal dans ces afaires par la prise de thoren. Ie vous prie, sy vous sauez quelque chose de la P de zolern, de me le mander, et me croire touiour affectionée pour vous seruir.

SOPHIE.

138.] LEIBNITZ TO SOPHIA CHARLOTTE, QUEEN OF PRUSSIA.

Hanover, November 17th, 1703.

Madam,

The Princess of Zollern's letter will have been delivered to your Majesty together with my own. She writes to me that she was not long able to keep up her *incognito* at the Convent of Hanichen, a league from Wolfenbüttel; and M. de Clermont Montalban, who is here, has told me that the nuns, who are not very profound genealogists, believed she was the sister of the Emperor himself, instead of his Envoy, Count Zinzendorf.

We firmly believe that your Majesty will do us the grace to come here at the next Carnival. It is true that Hanover, even when it is most populous, is a desert compared to Berlin, but it is a desert which has its own pleasant side, and which will make you find magnificence more agreeable, even as one has a better appetite after having starved a little. However I see that your Majesty talks of solitude in writing about Berlin after the departure of the Princess of Anspach. Probably, the two Margraves and their wives, and the Princess Henrietta, will not be there any more than the Princes, the King's brothers, and at that rate I grant that Hanover will be more peopled with Princes and Princesses at your Majesty's pleasure.

If there is nothing more to be said against the conduct of

Count Beuchling than his commerce with spirits, he is no doubt innocent; for certain things which he has done do not give the least evidence of their having answered him. I am assured of a thing which is to me almost as incomprehensible as if he had talked with spirits, and that is, that among his papers has been found the draught of a letter from the Marquis de Torcy to the Cardinal-Primate on the subject of the detention of M. de Lutheran, corrected by the hand of Count Beuchling himself, and that the printed copy has been found to agree with this corrected one; unless indeed it may be said that he wished to soften down the true letter when consenting to its being printed, and that he had some object in this for the service of his King; but in order to judge we ought to have both the draught and correction before us. Father Vota answers nobody: I am afraid he is ill. Berlin and Lützenburg would suit him better than Russia, where he has already run about so much with the late King. We have an Englishman here, a great Parliamentary authority, seeing that he has been twenty years a Member of the House of Commons; he seems to be a man of judgement, and knows the affairs of England better than all those we have seen here; his name is Sir Rowland Gwinn. With regard to the controversy between Father Vota and M. L'Enfant, I have learnt that unluckily the Father suspects me of having had something to do with your Majesty's letter, in which he does great wrong both to M. L'Enfant and myself. I do not know if M. Jacquelot's book may not soon reappear. There is a French translation of a book by a celebrated Englishman, named Mr. Locke, entitled 'An Essay on the Human Understanding.' As his philosophy does not agree over-well with mine (as for instance when he thinks the soul not imperishable), and as he does not fail to show a great deal of penetration, I made some remarks upon it while reading a portion of the Work when I was going to Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel, and when I have leisure I will finish the rest. It will be an occupation for the time, which will give me the advantage of paying my court at Lützenburg. His sentiments are popular enough, and will have the approbation

of many who do not look deeply into things: and this is why it seems to me important to answer it.

If the verses which have been put at the bottom of my portrait are to stay there, I must get some one to kill me, for fear that those who may afterwards see me should be disabused of the high opinion which the verses will give them of my great knowledge; as we never canonize Saints till long after their deaths, when their weaknesses are no longer remembered, so people ought not to heap praises upon men of letters till they are no longer in a condition to give the lie to their panegyrists. Monsieur the Count Fleming had written to me that he intended to go to Saxony, but perhaps he has pushed on to join the King his master. I do not know whether the Prince de Fürstenberg is returned or not. If he does not know how to find money as Beuchling did, he will find it difficult to maintain himself. It is thought that the King of Poland will recall the troops under the command of M. de Schulenburg, having no other infantry; but I fear that the best part of those troops have perished, or will perish before they can join him, for they are in want of everything, and M. de Schulenburg has actually advanced more than twenty thousand dollars of his own. The Fräulein, his sister, hopes that he will come here to the Carnival. I am, with devotion, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

139.] MADEMOISELLE DE PÖLLNITZ TO LEIBNITZ.

Berlin, November 20th, 1703.

Sir,

H. M. the Queen has commanded me to make you a grand and fine excuse for not answering you herself today.

As I am not very eloquent, I leave to your own penetration the care of devising everything that can be said the most obliging and the most flattering; and the more advantageously for yourself, the more sure you may be of having exactly hit her Majesty's sentiments.

I shall not tell you anything of this place; for I neither see nor hear anything, and it seems to me as if we were more in the country here than at Lützenburg. We had a ball yesterday, and we could only muster five ladies and four gentlemen. The Margrave of Anspach dances pretty well, but that is also the end of his knowledge: he is still very raw and very timid, but good-looking enough, and moreover very civil and polite. If I dared I would beg you to tell me whether the Linsburg pebbles are hard enough to engrave armorial bearings upon, and use as seals; and if they are so, be kind enough to inform me where they are to be bought: you will give me great pleasure, Sir, as I am in a hurry to execute the commission of having one engraved.

Pardon me for giving you this trouble. If, in return, you have any commands for Berlin, I will execute them with much pleasure, being very perfectly, Sir,

Your very humble and obedient Servant,

PELLNITZ.

140.] LEIBNITZ TO BARON VON OBDAM.

December 7th, 1703.

As for that unhappy action by Spires, it may be a question whether the absence of the greater part of the troops of Brunswick is a piece of good or bad fortune. Perhaps they might have prevented the defeat; but perhaps also they might have been carried away along with the rest, so great was the disorder, and in this case there would have been still less resource. In order to determine this problem, one ought to have what the theologians call the Medial science; however, as we ought to judge by the reason rather than by the events, I do not doubt but that your Excellency has been informed of those which the Generals of Lüneburg allege; for they assert that, according to the terms of the treaty, our troops were only to serve below the Moselle. Thus the Generals, as I am told, had no

power to make any alteration, of their own authority, without the consent of their masters, in an affair of so much importance; and nevertheless that, in order to show their zeal and to gain time, they did take the resolution to march as far as the Moselle, so that a courier being despatched to the master, they might receive an answer before passing the river, as it happened. If things are so, it seems they are not to be blamed, and the change of dispositions having been made all on a sudden (for previously all our troops were to remain where they were), the Elector himself had no power to set things to rights. I have positive knowledge how well-intentioned this Prince is; for I was with him a good part of the summer and winter at Herrnhausen and at Linsburg, and I heard his conversation every day. But unhappily I see that, throughout almost all the Empire, those that have the same ends have not come to a good understanding with one another, and consequently do not aid one another as they might if there was any cordiality, and if they would put down the little private interests which are only opposed to the great interest of all. I further see that it very often is not even interest which embroils the people, and that it is rather some pique or passion. Such appeared to me to be the differences between the Court of Brandenburg and the House of Lüneburg. I heard the late Elector say one day, that whilst his eldest son Christian Louis was still alive, they had at least twenty controversies with Hesse-Cassel on the subject of their boundaries and other matters, which often arise between neighbours, and yet the Princes remained good friends. All affairs of this kind ought to be put an end to by amicable or legal means; and above all, people should abstain from acts of violence, and not throw old controversies to account when the question is respecting important and general matters, in which the native country of all is concerned. I have preached this often enough at Berlin, *sed non omnes capiunt verbum hoc.* The Court of Berlin fires up at the least trifle, which scarcely deserves to be noticed; for instance, the Emperor had charged the Elector of Hanover and the Duke of Zell to maintain, *in quantum de*

jure, the interests of the Abbess of Herforden, a Princess of Courland, against whom some of the Canonesses have got up an opposition. It is quite possible that this Princess was a little in the wrong; however it is also possible that the Canonesses may have gone a little too far. The Elector wrote to them a letter of admonition, desiring them to take care, and not to exceed due bounds in their conduct towards the Princess their superior. On this the Court of Berlin makes as much noise as if the Emperor had bombarded Herforden. It seems to me that we ought never to make a riot when nothing but ink has been spilt; and especially when nothing has been said to injure a Princess's reputation, and in writing to the Canonesses not a word had been said of the King or those belonging to him. How can the King forbid a Princess of the Empire, or the Emperor to delegate any Princes, to do their duty conformably to the course of justice? How can he find fault with acts which are in themselves so harmless?

141.] HUYSSENS TO LEIBNITZ.

Moscow, Dec. 23rd, 1703.

Sir,

It is no small consolation for me to see by the letter which you did me the favour to write to me on the 5th of November, that a person of such distinguished merit in the world as yourself deigns to retain so favourable a remembrance of me as you show. I have been vaunting about it to M. de Brüsse, General of Artillery, who is the first foreigner that has ever been made President of one of His Majesty's Chanceries, and to M. Ferkelsohn, who teaches mathematics here. Both of them know you by reputation, and by the honourable mention which the English mathematicians have made of you in their books. The first will give me a list of the languages which are used in the countries that belong to this vast Empire, and an exact description of the countries themselves. I have given the same commission to those who are in the *Prikazi* for

those distant countries, and to others who have been there. I hope thus to be soon able to give you some satisfaction on the points concerning which you inquire. Mr. Isbrand, who was the Envoy of his Czarish Majesty in China, has printed his Voyage in octavo in Holland, together with a map and a description of the countries through which he passed; it is from this book that some light upon the subject may be derived. The Englishman, Sir, will give you in this letter some account of what has been done in the sciences. I return you most humble thanks for the admirable reflections which you have communicated to me on the news of the day. I would gladly have the same advantage more frequently; but as other affairs of greater importance occupy you, I hardly dare take the liberty of entreating you to honour me sometimes with your letters. You would do me a very particular favour if you would lay this charge upon somebody in your confidence, towards whom I would testify my perfect gratitude for the kindness which he would do me in this respect.

We are making at present more preparations than ever for the next campaign. Of every five Russian valets whom they find in the service of whomsoever it may be, they chose one to go to the war. Those who are not disposed to follow the drum leave their masters and decamp, for fear of being enrolled. They are setting seriously to work to give powerful aid to his Majesty the King of Poland, both in money and men.

Besides my charge of Councillor-at-War, His Majesty the Czar has done me the favour to entrust me with the education of his Royal Highness the Czarevitch, and the care of regulating his household. He is a Prince in whom there is no want either of talent or liveliness; he has an ambition moderated by reason, a sound judgement, and a great desire to distinguish himself, and to pursue everything which he is told is suitable to a great Prince; he is of a docile and tractable temper, and shows that he is desirous of repairing, by serious application, what has heretofore been neglected in his education. I observe in him a great leaning to piety, justice, uprightness, and integrity of morals; he likes the mathematics

and foreign languages, and shows a great desire to visit foreign countries; he wants to learn thoroughly both French and High German; he has begun to learn dancing, fencing, and the military exercises, in which he takes great delight. His Majesty has permitted him not to be so strict in the observance of fasts, for fear of its injuring his health or strength in any way; but from a feeling of devotion he declines any dispensation of the kind. His Majesty has returned from Voronetz, where he has begun to build a quantity of ships of war, galleys, and brigantines. It is impossible to conceive how much this Prince wearies himself with the affairs which concern the administration of his kingdoms; he has an eye upon everything that is done, takes cognizance of everything, and his plans are always the best; he likes the art of constructing and managing ships better than anything else. The richest of his subjects are obliged to have some built at their own expense, and it is his wish that they should at the same time learn navigation. His Majesty keeps here, in a very fine palace, a number of Englishmen, who give daily instruction in mathematics and navigation to two or three hundred men; he is not content with paying these masters well, but each scholar, young or old, has ten sous or more *per diem*, and at the end of two or three years, when they have finished their course, some hundred roubles and employment in the navy. A panegyric has been held here in praise of His Majesty, in Latin, under my direction, which I shall be able to send to be printed in Germany; it contains many details of His Majesty's life and exploits. I left in Germany my clothes and books heaped up here and there, and as I do not know how long I shall be able to remain here, I do not have them sent after me yet. I wish you every prosperity for the approaching year, and beg your pardon most humbly for the irregular way in which I have been obliged to write this letter. On every other occasion I shall beg to prove to you the respectful attachment with which I am, and ever shall be, Sir, etc. etc.,

H. Huyssen.

142.] SOPHIA CHARLOTTE TO MADEMOISELLE DE PÖLLNITZ.

[*No date:* 1704?]

Dites au Comte de Dohna, qu'il ne s'oppose pas aux galanteries du Prince Royal; l'amour polit l'esprit, et adoucit les mœurs. Mais qu'il dirige son goût, qu'il ne porte sur rien de bas. Pas un chiffon de papier ne me tombe sous la main. Adieu, ma chère Pöllnitz.

SOPHIE.

BOTHMER.

Hans Caspar von Bothmer or Bothmar (for the name is spelled indifferently the one and the other way, though he himself usually writes Bothmer) was born in 1656, and entered the service of Brunswick-Zell. In 1696 he was appointed Ambassador from the Elector of Hanover, Ernest Augustus, to the Court of Vienna; in 1697 he was present in the same capacity at the negotiations of Ryswick; in the following year he was despatched to the Court of Louis XIV. In 1705 he was promoted to the rank of Privy Councillor in activity (*Wirklicher Geheimer Rath*) in the Electorate, was Ambassador for Hanover at the Hague in 1709, and was sent in the same capacity to England in 1714 shortly before the death of Queen Anne. In the following year he was raised to the dignity of a Count of the Holy Roman Empire. On the accession of George I. he became directing Minister of Hanoverian affairs in England, and so continued till, in 1727, he attained the post of Prime Minister in Hanover. He died in London on the 6th of February, 1732.

143.] BARON DE BOTHMER TO LEIBNITZ.

The Hague, January 8, 1704.

Sir,

I humbly thank you for the honour of your letter, dated the last day of last year, and for the good wishes it contained for that in which we now are living. I wish you one as happy and as full of all prosperity. It may be so more easily for ourselves individually than for what concerns the public affairs; nevertheless, if the great people who are interested in these would only unite cordially in their good wishes, they might perhaps also bring about their accomplishment, in good part at least. This seems very necessary in our present position, particularly in Germany; in default of it we may very easily lose the two Circles, which are making the greatest efforts, either by the act of the enemies or even the conduct of our friends; for the one and the other are equally a burden upon them, and excite their complaints. There are some who doubt with you whether this State can long support the excessive expense to which it is put; but every one is assured that England can, if they can only maintain quiet at home. Scotland was on the point of disturbing it. Let us hope that this may be remedied now that the conspiracy has been discovered. It is probable that the King of Spain is at this moment in England. It is hoped that he will not be obliged to remain there as long as he did here. The public is delighted with the support which you have given to his rights. I have forwarded to M. d'Obedam the letter which you addressed to me for him, and herewith you have his answer. I think that he would prefer going to the war than on an embassy. We shall soon know whether the approaching promotion of Generals will include him also.

I am, Sir, etc. etc.,

BOTHMER.

144.] LEIBNITZ TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

Wolfenbüttel, January 12, 1704.

Madam,

As I supposed that M. the Doctor Ebel would have informed you of what has passed here with respect to the death of M. the Duke Rudolph and of Mme. the Duchess, wife of Duke Antony Ulrich, I did not wish to write, having no opportunity of knowing the details as accurately as he. The late Prince died cheerfully enough, having made an organ-man and fiddler play to him immediately after his brother had given him his word to provide for those whom he should recommend to him, of whom the organ-man was one, but the fiddler, not being so, declared that he was very sorry to have played with the other. This is an anecdote which I have only just learnt, or I would not have failed to communicate sooner to your Electoral Highness so important a circumstance of the last hours of this good Prince.

I have received a terribly long letter from Mr. Burnet, which says just as little as the last; except that he is charmed to learn from me that your Electoral Highness and the Queen have had the goodness to think of his deliverance, and he has written to you both the enclosed letters, in which no doubt he will express his gratitude. It was my intention to return to Hanover at the end of the first week of the Fair, which this time has been a mere nothing; but M. the Duke has expressed his wish that I should remain a few days longer, in order to assist him in dispelling the sad impressions made by the sudden death of the Duchess; however I shall be at Hanover, please God, at the end of the week; being, with devotion, Madam, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

145.] FOUNTAINE TO LEIBNITZ.

London, Jan. 29, 170¾, O. S.

S^r^,

Mr Windes Father sent me your letter but last weeke, or else you had had an answer to it sooner. I was in hopes myself to have waited upon you this Carneval at Hannover, but have bin prevented by family affaires; which is nō small trouble to me, having the greatest desire imaginable to see that place once more, where I was soe well and soe kindly entertained. The Japonese you mention in England is still here, and in great repute, though many suspect both him and the story he tells of himself; he pretends to be the son of one of the greatest men in the Island Formosa; and that at the Age of nineteen yeares he made his escape with a Jesuite to Avignon, but not liking their notion of Transubstantiation, he got away into Germany, where being equally averse to the Lutherans principle of Consubstantiation, he left them and went into Holland, but there not being able to agree with the Calvinists about Predestination, he came into England and made himself a member of our church. I have here enclosed sent you his Alphabet, written all with his own hand, and the powers he has given the letters; he says this Alphabet was taught to his nation by a certain great wise man about 900 yeares agoe. I suppose you already informed about him, soe I shall say no more at present. A gentleman desired me to acquaint you, that if you have not got Dr Cudworths Intellectual System, My Lady Massam will be glad of an opportunity to present you with one; she being the author's daughter and the inheritrix of his learning. My Saxon coines goe on apace, and I have inclosed the first table, that you may give your opinion of it. I will by the first opportunity send you a Welsh Dictionary, but I cant as yet hear of an Irish one, though I am told that such have bin printed at the Colledge de propagandâ fide in Rome. I must repeat my intreaties to you not to neglect any opportunity of acknowledging my gratitude to Her Prussian Majesty and the Elec-

trice for the honours done me whilest I was at their courts; and I beg of you to command me in any thing I can serve you in, and to beleive me most sincerely,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate humble Servant,

AND. FOUNTAINE.

146.] ANTHONY ASHLEY, LORD SHAFTESBURY, TO STEPNEY (?).

Rotterd^m, Jan. 23d, 1704.

Sir,

I am extreamly obligd to you for yours, & ye kind thoughts of me wch you express in it. What you have heard of me as to my living much retir'd, and having left publick affaires, is true.

I kept in 'em as long as I was able: but by a Constitution unfitted for the fatigue of Buisness, I had long since been forc'd to quitt, but that I chose to suffer anything rather than not come in heartily & with all my Strength at that last hour when I apprehended not my Country only but Mankind was sinking, had not the Prince then alive been supported, a Warr enter'd into, & an English Protestant Succession establish'd.

I have liv'd to see the cheifest of these Ends compass'd, & those good Laws pass'd for the Establishment of our Constitution, wch I wishd for at the Revolution; but wch were afterwards gott with so much Envy, Struggle, and Pain, as I cannot remember but with Regrett for that Prince's sake whose Memory however with all true Englishmen, I must still honour and love. I hope the Remainder of this good Work will be perfected & the Warr for common Liberty carryed on with Vigour: it lying wholly now in the Power of our English Court: where I hope the Will is not wanting: and I rejoyce to hear such noble Maxims from an English Throne as we have lately had from thence.

If those Persons of your Court are such as you describe

there are yet Treasures of Happiness in store for England and the World. I can rely on your Judgment sooner than most Persons living, but cannot help in myself a naturall Diffidence of Courts, after having been deceived so much in one I so early lov'd, and had such thoughts of, as to beleive it no less than impossible to have seen it sacrifize its best Friends, & lay itself at last so low, by such repeated Acts, & by loosing even that Degree of Faith & Gratitude wch attends common Policy & Interest.

Every thing in Nature seems to demonstrate this Truth, y^t^ Things are to be maintain'd & advanc'd by the Principles on wch they were founded. But Courts are supernaturall Things, & subservient to none of these Rules. All is miraculouse there and out of the Order of common human Policy; or at least seems to be so, to retir'd & speculative People such as Myself.

But I have troubled you with enough: having no better or other Subject for a Correspondance: wch otherwise I should with the greatest Willingness embrace: but that the Terms are so unequall between one in a principall Court of Europe & one living so much out of the World, & knowing little of what passes till long after it has past & is no longer News.

Tho' I am not now in Parlement myself, where I never was of much Service, & for the future can be of little or none, yet I cannot but regrett the Loss we have of you, whom I have ever esteem'd one of the most fitted & most usefull. If any thing can make amends, it is your being where you are; to give that good Advice you are so capable of; in wch Station, as one of the greatest importance to us, I am necessitated to think you of any Englishman the most fitted; being conscious as I have been of the Services you did at a former Court (our then presumptive Successor's), when I first knew you, and where, as an Omen of my being for ever a bad Courtier, I made choice of you (an Englishman and a Whigg) instead of any other to present me: wh^ch^ is Circumstance 'tis likely you may long e're this have forgotten; but which I am glad of this Occasion of remembering, tho' at a Distance of Time,

that I might shew you with what early Obligation, & by what Tyes of private Friendship, as well as Publick Principle, I am, & must be, Your most reall

and faithfull humble Servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

147.] LEIBNITZ TO SIR A. FOUNTAINE.

Febr (?), 1704.

Sir,

I have sent your specimen of ancient medals to Monsieur the Count of Schwarzburg, and have begged of him casts of those which he has. M. Brenner, who has published the Swedish coins, says that several antiques have been found at a place in Sweden, and that there were English ones also: it would be well to ask him for an account of this. There is every appearance of the alphabet of your Japanese being an invention of his own; his Lambdo, Sambdo, Bagdo, Gomera, Vomera, to express L, S, B, G, and V, as well as some other letters, which looked to me very like it; but especially his Epsi, because he has either not known or not reflected that it is the ἐ ψιλόν, or thin E, which no doubt will not be quite the same in the island of Formosa.

I have written to my Lady Masham, or Marsham, to thank her in advance, and I have begged Mr. Puchler, who is in the household of Baron Schütz, to show you my letter. I shall cause a great work to be printed, containing ancient historical documents, serving to illustrate the House and lands of Brunswick and its neighbours, and I hope to be able to serve you with some copies of it. Mr. Burnet of Kemney has written to us from Geneva, having been set at liberty. Dictionaries, Grammars, and notices of the Welsh and Irish languages will always interest me extremely, for I look upon the Welsh like the ancient Gaulish, and the Irish like the still more ancient Celtish. I think that I remarked once in your Transactions, that one of your men of learning pretends to see

some connection between the Latin and the Irish, even independently of the Romans. This may be; for all the Latin that is not derived from the Greek comes apparently from the ancient Celtic, although this was very different towards Italy from what it was towards the ocean. I have a catalogue of the books printed in the "*De Propaganda Fide*," which I have not yet been able to find: I will see if there is an Irish dictionary; I have seen an Irish grammar.

We kept at Court the first of May, English style, with leeks. I don't know whether I thoroughly understood the origin of this custom, and whether they say that a Prince of Wales fighting a victorious battle on that day (perhaps when the Black Prince took King John prisoner), caused his people to take leeks to distinguish his side; for I have at present no time to hunt it up in the histories.

148.] SOPHIA CHARLOTTE, QUEEN OF PRUSSIA, TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

Berlin, 1r Mars, 1704.

Ie renvoye les lettres du Roy à V. A. E., pour qu'elle voye que j'ay eu bon nez de ne pas rester d'avantage à Hanover. Apres avoir demandé partout pour m'informer ce qui estoit cause du mecontentement du Roy contre Mons. le duc, l'on m'a dit, que l'on croyoit qu'il detournoit le Roy de Suède de tenir un Reichstag; et quand on tiendra un, le Roy à son tour pourra estre directeur du Cercle, ce que le Roy de Suède est à present. J'en laisse le jugement à V. A. E.

Cependant le Roy de Pologne est detroné dans les formes, quoique quelques uns de la petite noblesse sont encor pour luy. Fleming est allé à Coppenhague, negotier je ne say quoy. Nous avons cependant ses Comediens, à qui il doit deux ans de gages, qui font 20 mille ecus. Ils sont bons dans le Comique, mais dans le serieux ceux d'Hanover les passent. Ils ont fini de jouer hier, car nous jeunerons Mercredi, et toutes les betes [redacted]—je ne say dans quel chapitre cela est écrit. Mais je

plains deja Tripolina et Melampia et le perroquet par avance. Monsieur Stepney en partant m'a prié d'asseurer V. A. E. de ses respects, et qu'il luy avoit tousjours este attaché, et que l'interest d'etre plus pres de la couronne ne le faisoit pas faire, mais que c'estoit par une veneration particuliere qu'il luy a vouée de tout temps. Il est content des bonnes intentions du Roy pour le bien public; mais il faudroit estre en etat de pouuoir executer tous les grands desseins, dont je doubte beaucoup, quoyque l'on fasse des couuertures de mulets à 1500 ecus la piece, pour ne se pas servir des vielles, à cause qu'elles n'ont qu'une Couronne Electorale, et qui sont au reste tres belles.

Berleps est revenu d'aupres de l'Electeur de Baviere, dont il m'a porté des complimens: il se porte fort bien et n'a plus mal aux yeux, et vit fort bien avec l'Electrice: ce n'est qu'un cœur et une ame à present. Il a un fils de Mad. d'Arco, qui s'appelle Le Chevalier de Baviere, qui doit estre tres joli.

M. Jaquelot m'a fort demandé apres Monsieur Leibnitz; il a fait un distique dessus son pourtrait, qui veut dire en Latin, *Qui ne le connoist pas?* c'est tiré de Virgile. Il m'a conté que M. Obdam sera obligé de payer 8000 ecus, ou d'epouser la petite fille qui a eue un enfant, et qui a produit un contrat de marriage de luy. Cependant dans les douleurs de l'enfantement elle a dit, qu'il y en avoit quatres, des quels elle ne pouuoit dire qui estoit le pere de l'enfant. Elle est petite fille de Caron, ce grand voyageur, qui alloit aux Indes avec Tavernier. Je suis avec respect et passion, de V. A. E.

La tres humble et tres obeissante Servante,

Sophie Charlotte.

JOHN REINHOLT VON PATKUL, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL AND PRIVY-COUNCILLOR OF H. I. M. THE CZAR OF MUSCOVY.

The fate of this unfortunate nobleman, who after filling important civil and military offices, and exercisi[illegible]

great influence upon the diplomatic combinations of his day, was finally put to a cruel and ignominious death, to satisfy the revenge of Charles XII. of Sweden, has at all times attracted interest and sympathy. These feelings have always been enhanced by the comparative obscurity, one might almost say mystery, in which many events of his life are shrouded, and which in all probability will never be entirely removed. These it was impossible for his contemporaries, and is difficult for us, at this distance from the events, to penetrate. Care was taken to conceal from his contemporaries all knowledge of details which it was justly felt would not bear looking into closely; and we, to whom the events themselves are more familiar, have now no longer the key which would enable us to combine and read the scattered cipher.

Something nevertheless we have been enabled to collect from various sources; and we believe that we are in possession of very much, if not all, of the truth, respecting him. His own course of life was indeed so dark and tortuous, his intrigues so numerous and varied, that we can never hope to follow him through all the transactions which raised him at one time so high, to fall so terribly and perish so miserably. But we believe that we can give an outline of some principal events of his career, which will be sufficient to explain the dreadful fate he suffered. A sketch of his life, prefixed to an edition of his despatches, which appeared anonymously at Berlin at the close of the last century,* contains the most of what is known with

* 'John Reinholt von Patkul, etc.: Berichte an das Czarische Cabinet in Moscau,' part i., Berlin, 1792; part ii., Berlin, 1795; part iii., 1797. It is a book of very good authority, and the work of a diplomatist of experience, well versed in the intrigues of Patkul's time, and acquainted with the secret archives of more than one Court. The first part contains the text of Patkul's Despatches from the Court of Frederick Augustus,

certainty respecting him, and must always remain the chief authority for his biography. There are other scattered notices however, either derived from MS. sources or found in books, which have appeared since the publication of the despatches, and throw light upon some points that have hitherto remained unexplained. From the very outset of his life to its last fearful moment, everything about him is involved in more or less of uncertainty and mystery. Even the time and place of his birth are unknown. An idle and oft-repeated tale, that he first saw the light in a prison, to which his mother had accompanied her husband, under condemnation upon a charge of high treason, has no foundation: it seems to have been devised to render his fortunes more romantic, as if the terrible reality could stand in need of artificial heightening, or perhaps further to blacken a character, equivocal enough of itself, by insinuating that the traitor had inherited his crime. It was first circulated after his death, and has been rejected as a fable by his able and well-informed biographer, who refutes the whole story of his father having fallen under the displeasure of the Government. All that we do know is, that Patkul's family were nobles of Livonia, a province ceded to Sweden by Poland, and that several of its members had been in the military service of the former State. At the time when we first meet with him in history, John Reinholt himself held a Captain's commission in the Swedish army. The year 1660 is fixed upon as the most probable date of his birth.

In order to attain a clear insight into the events which directed all the after-course of his life, we must take up

King of Poland, till 1705, with the keys to the ciphers; parts ii. and iii. are occupied with a sketch of his life.

some points in the history of Sweden at an earlier period. Under the Kings of the House of Wasa, the nobility had succeeded in establishing a power which overshadowed the throne itself: one of the motives which led Gustavus Adolphus's daughter to abdicate was the impossibility of making head against her hereditary councillors, and disgust at finding her vagrant fancies thwarted and opposed on every occasion. Her successors of the Palatine House of Neuburg were not disposed to submit to any such interference; they had not obtained the Crown, as the first Wasa had, by the aid of the Swedish nobles; they owed them no thanks, and they saw with ill-concealed resentment, that these relations between the highest orders of the State had greatly curtailed the power of the sovereign. They decided accordingly upon accomplishing, at all risks and any cost, a systematic emancipation of their Crown from all the long-established constitutional checks and restrictions. Charles XI. had determined upon annihilating for ever the power of the Senate and the resistance of the Estates. But large sums of money were indispensable to the success of these plans; and the Crown of Sweden, not less by the wars of Gustavus than the extravagance of Christina, had been reduced to a state of utter poverty. In the lapse of years, and under a system of very improvident management, the great domains had mostly been alienated, and had devolved into private hands: some had been sold under pressure of difficulties, very probably below their real value: others had been granted as the rewards of courtly subservience, or of gallant and faithful services in the field; for among those who had been thus enriched were found the great names of Brahe, Oxenstjerna, and Königsmark, of Horn, of Banner and Torstensohn. By restoring these domains, if possible, to the Crown, the

Ministry hoped at once to consolidate the power of the King, and inflict an irreparable blow upon the refractory nobility.

In defiance therefore of all justice, and of a possession consecrated by long enjoyment, a plan of Reduction, or Reunion, as it was called, was proposed and decreed by royal authority. The principle of this spoliation was, that all domains which were *presumed* to have been sold for less than their real worth, should be revalued, and two-thirds of the sum resumed; provided always, that the third which thus remained to the owners should in no case exceed the yearly sum of seventy pounds: the mesne profits were to be strictly accounted for to the Crown. With even less show of justice, the same rule was made applicable to all the estates which had been granted on hereditary tenure, in consideration of public services. The ruin and dismay which these arbitrary measures occasioned are not to be described: there was hardly a family of note in the kingdom which they did not either directly or indirectly reach. Estates, which on the faith of a valid title, had passed from hand to hand, had been charged with family settlements, and assigned as dower or appanage, were now to be violently confiscated; for such a reduction was nothing less than confiscation. Yet even more terrible was the operation of the clause which called for an account of the mesne profits. Many who in difficult moments had come forward to assist their sovereigns, and believed themselves creditors of the Crown to large amounts, found that the Commissioners of Reunion had such counter-claims upon them, as not only totally to extinguish their own rights, but to bring them in debtors in ruinous sums.* In no part of the monarchy

* De Linières, Histoire de Suède sous le Règne de Charles XII. (six vols. Amst., 1721), especially vol. i. p. 38 and p. 403.

was this spoliation more unjustifiable, or more deeply resented, than in Livonia. This province had not been ceded to Sweden without the most solemn engagements and, as it was thought, the strictest guarantees, continually recited and repeated in public instruments.* The Kings of Sweden had in the most formal manner sworn to respect the privileges of the various classes in their new dominions, and to maintain them intact *in statu quo ante*: and successive monarchs had renewed this solemn undertaking,—Gustavus Adolphus in 1614, and again in 1621; Christina in 1648.† In spite however of these capitulations and confirmations, which had become an integral part of the public law of the State, it was determined that the Reunion should be introduced also into Livonia; and with such unprincipled harshness was the measure enforced, that an account was to be rendered even of what had been alienated by the Kings of Poland and the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order, while the province belonged to them, and long before its cession to the Crown of Sweden. In short these Kings now claimed what never had belonged nor had been surrendered to them, and proceeded to enforce their claims without the slightest regard to legality, or the old established constitutional forms and matriculated privileges of the nobility.

This numerous and powerful class did not however succumb without a struggle. They remonstrated and argued and protested, but all in vain. What Pompeius once said to the municipality of a Spanish city,—"What is the use of protesting against the measures of a man

* Especially by the Treaty of Peace of Oliva in 1660; *vid.* Collect. Livonica, No. xxiii., p. 177, App. No. vii. Ex Instrumento Pacis Olivensis, art. ii.

† Collect. Livonica, No. xxiii., 5, 6, 8.

who commands two legions?"—might have been the motto of the Swedish Kings, confident in the support of their household troops. The Livonians nevertheless succeeded in 1689 in obtaining at all events the promise of a hearing, and were directed to send Commissioners to Stockholm to inform the King and lay their case before him. We possess the Power and Letters of Credence, given for this purpose in the year 1690 to Landrath Gustav von Budberg and Captain John Reinholt Patkul.* This is the first time that his name appears in history; but the delicate and important situation of trust in which we find him, sufficiently answers for the estimation in which he stood among his brother nobles; perhaps also it may imply that he had already taken a prominent part in the opposition to the measures of Government. In obedience to the commands of King Charles XI., these gentlemen waited upon him at Stockholm and in other places; but all their efforts were in vain: the King was resolved upon the Reunion, and no words could move him. A year was spent in totally fruitless negotiation, at the close of which the Commissioners returned home, with their hearts full of bitterness and indignation, to report the failure of their mission and concert other means of securing their rights. From this period it seems probable that the Livonians began to look around them in hopes of succour from abroad, and to intrigue with the neighbouring Duchy of Courland and Electorate of Brandenburg,† fully prepared to sepa-

* Collect. Livon. xii., and Berichte, ii. p. 69.

† The reader is requested to examine with attention an extract given at p. 91 of this Work from a secret and unpublished Despatch of the Prussian Resident at Stockholm, Von Winkler, to Danckelmann, dated June 15th, 1692. It appears from this document that overtures had certainly been made to Brandenburg, and probably to Courland, and

rate themselves entirely from Sweden, and unite with some other country, on condition of remaining unmolested in the possession of their lands and privileges. In the year 1692 a Diet was called at Wenden (it opened on the 11th of March), and before this the Commissioners rendered an account of their mission, and of their unsuccessful endeavours on behalf of the whole body. Before they separated, the members of the Diet appointed a committee to watch over their interests, in which Patkul was included. The Committee now adopted the plan of publishing manifestoes, under the form of letters addressed to the King; in these documents the injustice of his measures was exposed, and the rights of the Livonian nobles were vindicated, in the strongest and most unsparing terms. Charles XI. received the news of this opposition with the utmost indignation, and inquiries were directed to be instituted for the purpose of discovering the authors of the letters and bringing them to condign punishment. The Swedish ministry soon considered themselves in possession of evidence sufficient to bring the attack home to Patkul. He was ordered to repair forthwith to Stockholm, to answer whatever might there be laid to his charge; but, distrusting the tribunal before which he was cited, or conscious of having engaged in intrigues which might endanger his life, he resolved to provide for his own safety by withdrawing entirely from within the reach of Swedish influence. At this period, in addition to the difficulties which we have

that they had gone through the channel of J. R. Patkul. In another secret Despatch of Von Winkler, dated September 21st, 1692, he informs the Minister: "On dit que M. Patkol a esté en Courlande, où il a tiré de l'Archiv du Duc l'original d'un ancien privilege, qu'on a allegué en faveur de la noblesse de Livonie et d'Esthonie, mais en vain." During this voyage Patkul had probably sounded the Duke.

described, he had also unhappily become engaged in an affair which threatened him with the utmost danger as an officer of the royal army. He had long been on bad terms with Field-Marshal the Count von Hastfer, commander of Riga, and colonel of the regiment in which he held a company. Jealousy has been assigned as the cause of their dissension, and may possibly have had some influence upon their relations to one another; but Patkul's restless, dissatisfied spirit of opposition to the Swedish Governor will probably sufficiently account for their mutual hatred, which personal grounds embittered; and from all that is recorded of him, it would seem that Von Hastfer himself was a man of most tyrannical disposition and very indifferent character. It appears that several officers of the regiment had reason to be discontented with the treatment they received from Von Hastfer's creature and lieutenant-colonel Magnus von Helmersen, and came to the resolution of demanding a court-martial of the Governor. From all the voluminous official records of the proceedings in this case, it is obvious that the Captains had been deeply aggrieved by the conduct of their superior officer, and had the justest cause for complaint;* but Von Helmersen was Hastfer's friend and favourite, and Patkul, Hastfer's enemy, was one of the complainants. Unfortunately an oversight had betrayed them into a grave breach of military principles and discipline. Advantage was taken of the fact that the memorial which they presented had been signed by them *in common:* instead of obtaining the court-martial they had asked for, they were put upon their trials on a charge of mutiny (*seditio*), and Patkul was carefully designated

* The trial of these officers is fully reported in the 'Berichte,' vol. ii. pp. 160–196.

in the indictment as the instigator of their proceedings. It is unnecessary to detail all the steps of this prosecution, which extended over a long period of time: suffice it to say, that finally all the other officers were frightened into throwing themselves upon the King's mercy, not however without, at the same time, declaring that they had been led into their offence by the intrigues and influence of Patkul. They were severally condemned to various periods of imprisonment, and to make the most humiliating public apology to Von Helmersen; on which terms they saved their heads. During the progress of the trial, whose result he clearly foresaw, Patkul had succeeded in escaping from Livonia into Courland, taking with him all the papers belonging to the Diet of Wenden, as well as those having reference to the negotiations of the deputation in Stockholm. On being summoned, as we have seen, to appear in that city to answer for his conduct, he addressed a spirited remonstrance to the King, and declared his readiness to obey his commands; but insisted upon a safe-conduct, which Charles XI. actually granted; not however without an ambiguous clause, which might possibly render its benefits nugatory, and which throws grave doubts upon the honesty of the King's intentions.* In spite of this danger Patkul boldly presented himself in Stockholm, where he vigorously conducted the defence both of his accused brother-officers, and his colleagues in the Committee of the Diet. But perceiving that the Court sought every means of procrastination, and showed no intention of concluding these proceedings, he became apprehensive that it was in contemplation to protract them until the expiration of his safe-conduct, or in some other way to deprive him of

* This document bears date March 28th, 1694; *vid.* Linières, ii. 91.

its stipulated protection. He consequently determined to be beforehand with his enemies, and place himself beyond their power: having succeeded in effecting his escape from Stockholm, still carrying with him his valuable documents, he at first retired into Courland, and thence at length found his way into Switzerland. Here he long remained concealed under the name of Fischering, occupying his enforced leisure with a translation of Puffendorf, and aiding in the education of a young and noble friend. On the 24th of December, 1694, the Court of Inquiry proceeded to declare the deputies guilty of high treason. They were all condemned to death and confiscation of property, and in addition the hand which had written the scandalous libels, Patkul's, was to be struck off by the executioner. These sentences were however commuted for various periods of imprisonment, which only ceased at the death of Charles XI. On the accession of Charles XII., April 15th, 1697, Patkul probably hoped to be included in the amnesty accorded to his associates, and applied in terms of submission to the young King. The only reply he received was, that he would not be molested as long as he refrained from agitation. From this time he appears to have entertained some doubts of his safety in Switzerland, which he left, and after many wanderings in Savoy, Italy, and France, he returned into Germany, and took up his quarters in Berlin. His selection of this city as his place of refuge confirms Von Winkler's assertion that he had previously entertained secret relations with the ministry of the Great Elector. There cannot be the least doubt that now, if not at an earlier period, Patkul laboured to incite the Elector into the renewal of a war with Sweden, and that he made himself responsible for the active co-operation

of Livonia. But the Elector had lost some of his ancient fire: his victory at Fehrbellin had settled many of the points in dispute between himself and his neighbour; the Ministry were not at all prepared to disturb the existing arrangements, and least of all by entering upon open hostilities. At length Patkul, finding his overtures and advice treated with coolness, took advantage of his acquaintance with Count von Fleming to obtain the means of retiring to the Court of Saxony, where it is probable that his representations met with more attention, and where he remained for some time in the service of Frederick Augustus, the Elector, and King of Poland. The circumstances in which this Prince was placed were certainly favourable to Patkul's views. On his election to the throne of Poland, Frederick Augustus had accepted and sworn the "Pacta Conventa" and usual capitulations with the Diet.* These imposed upon him the duty of restoring to the Republic, either by force of arms or by treaties, such provinces and possessions as had at an earlier period been torn from it. The districts intended by this general expression were Kaminiec and Podolia, from which the Turks would have to be expelled; the Ukraine, to which the Republic laid claim; and no doubt Livonia also, violently and unjustly occupied by Sweden. It is true that the Pacta Conventa do not expressly mention this last province, nor do Parthenay or Linières notice the King's designs upon it, before the year 1700; on the other hand Nordberg† and the 'Histoire de Stanislas'‡ distinctly affirm that it was in-

* The text of the Pacta Conventa is found in Parthenay, Hist. de Pol. sous Frèd. Aug. 1733, vol. i. pp. 127–131.

† Gesch. Karls des XII., etc.

‡ H. de Stan, ler, Roy de Pol., par M. C. D.: Londres, 1741.

tended to be included in his obligation. This is no doubt the case; but it was necessary that attention should not be prematurely called to it. If the plan was to succeed, the intention required to be buried in profound secrecy until the moment for its execution had arrived; in fact it was by some, and perhaps not unjustly, suspected, that the King would gladly have reduced Livonia to subjection to himself, and united it with his Electorate of Saxony, so as to be in a condition, with the combined force of the two States, to dictate terms to the Poles unfavourable to their liberties.* Patkul's anonymous biographer thinks Frederick Augustus was first led to entertain thoughts of attacking Sweden in 1698, by Peter the Great; but it is distinctly stated by the King himself, in his Manifesto published about June, 1700, that he was bound by oath to recover Livonia, ("indem Ihn nicht allein sein Gewissen, und der gethane Eydschwur Liefland wieder zu recuperiren, hierzu verbindlich machte,") and a subsequent reference in the same document to the Pacta Conventa makes it probable that this engagement was taken in them, either as an open or a secret article.†

The first undertaking of the King, that against Kaminiec, was attended with complete success; the Turks were defeated and expelled, and the town, with its territory, reannexed to the kingdom of Poland. The attempt upon Livonia had a different result: everything here appeared indeed to favour the views and nourish the hopes of Frederick Augustus. The Swedes themselves had begun to give signs of deep discontent with Charles's government; the Livonians were almost in open rebellion;

* Nordberg, vol. i. p. 104.

† The text of the Manifesto is published in the 'Theatrum Europæum,' vol. xv. p. 785, *seq.*

the justice of the cause was on the side of Poland, for the right of the Republic to this province, rent from it by violence and treachery, could not be gainsaid; the Czar of Muscovy was ready to enter into a strict alliance, offensive and defensive, against Sweden; while at the same time this kingdom had dangerous occupation enough with Denmark on the one hand, and Brandenburg on the other. Yet was Livonia nevertheless destined to be the stone of offence that ultimately caused Frederick Augustus's ruin. We have seen that, in order to succeed in any enterprise against this province, it was necessary that the Swedes should be taken by surprise; but here the constitution of Poland itself presented almost insuperable difficulties. The Saxon army was neither of adequate strength, nor in an efficient state to operate alone: without the Polish forces there was not even the shadow of a chance. But the King could legally undertake no military expedition of the kind without consulting the Diet, and it is clear that to do this would have been at once to reveal the whole plan,—in short, to ensure its failure. A middle way was therefore adopted. Secret and several negotiations with some of the leading Poles were resorted to, whose assent, it was thought, would be sufficient to replace the legal authorization of the Diet. These were won over by liberal distributions of lucrative offices and money; and foremost among them the all-powerful Cardinal-Primate Radziejowsky, who is distinctly asserted to have sold his consent for one hundred thousand dollars, offered him in the name and on behalf of the Livonian nobility, by John Reinholt Patkul.* Through the influence of this prelate

* Nordberg, vol. i. p. 201, and 'Echo, sive justissima responsio,' etc., 1705, p. 90, *seq.*

other important suffrages were secured, and in the course of the year 1699 the King was enabled to look upon his wishes on this subject as sufficiently gratified. Some historians have represented Patkul as the first person who put the thought of invading Livonia into the King's head, and his anonymous biographer has discussed the question with skill and impartiality, but without arriving at a certain conclusion.* Our opinion is that the Pacta Conventa themselves imposed the duty; but there cannot be the least doubt that, if not himself its author, Patkul threw himself with heart and soul into the scheme, intrigued in its favour with all his influence in Saxony, Poland, and Livonia, and took a prominent personal part in the invasion itself. A detailed and well-considered plan of attack, addressed by him to Frederick Augustus, is yet extant.† In this, among other strategical points of importance, the necessity of surprising Riga was strongly dwelt upon. In accordance with these views, the attempt was made in the spring of 1700; but the Swedes had obtained some notice of what was intended, and were fully prepared. Their resistance under a veteran commander was successful: the Saxon General Carlowitz, who had been entrusted with the duty, was compelled to draw off in confusion. Patkul had been placed under the command of this General, at the head of a body of horse, and had shared in the disappointment and discomfiture of the plan. Obliged to relinquish all the hopes which had been grounded on the supposition of Riga's fall, he determined to rouse the Livonians into open insurrection. With his body of cavalry he rode from place

* Berichte, vol. ii. p. 234, *seq.*

† Grodno, Jan. 1st, and Warsaw, April 7th, 1699: see Berichte, ii. pp. 237-266.

to place, publishing addresses and proclamations, and calling upon his brother-nobles to join the Polish cause as the only possible refuge against the tyranny of Sweden. But the failure of the attempt on Riga had produced its bad effects; the Livonians shrunk from the premature declaration of an adherence to Poland, which would bring down all the vengeance of Charles XII. upon them; and Patkul had the deep mortification to meet with little sympathy, and to find his advances repelled in every quarter. It is unnecessary to enter into any description of the war which now ensued between Charles XII., Frederick Augustus, and Peter the Great; its events and results are sufficiently well known. We will therefore content ourselves with pursuing the fortunes of Patkul. He had accompanied Carlowitz to the Court of the Czar, at which he was residing at the end of 1699; and it is hardly to be doubted that he had a considerable influence in the negotiation and conclusion of the Treaty of Moscow. This important instrument was signed on November $\frac{11}{21}$, 1699, and was renewed a year and a half later at Borsen. In the second Article, the high contracting parties, the Czar and the King of Poland, stipulated that his Majesty the King of Poland would be assisting with all his might and power to place and to maintain his Majesty the Czar in possession of a port on the coast of the Baltic, as his predecessors had in time past possessed; and to that end would forthwith break with the King of Sweden. By the third Article, the King of Poland engaged himself to make such a diversion with his troops as to give full occupation to the Swedish army in Esthonia and Livonia, and prevent it from falling upon the Muscovites. By the fifth Article, the Czar bound himself to make peace within a year with Turkey, and

to declare war against Sweden. He further undertook to operate with a competent force against Ingria and Carelia.

The King of Denmark was afterwards associated to this treaty; but Charles XII., nothing daunted by the combination of his enemies, fell at once upon the Danes, whose army he annihilated, and compelled them to sue for peace, which was signed at Travendal, August 13, 1700, on condition of their deserting the Russo-Polish alliance. Charles then turned upon the Muscovites, whom he utterly routed at Narva on the 1st of October; and, after pushing back the Saxons under General Theinau, carried the war into Poland. During the progress of the events which we have described, Patkul had, for some unexplained cause, relinquished the service of Saxony, and entered that of the Czar, with the military rank of a Major-General and the title of a Privy Councillor. In this capacity he was sent to reside as Minister at the Court of Frederick Augustus,—a nomination which leads to the conclusion that his retirement from that sovereign's service had not been accompanied by any disagreeable circumstances. The treaty of Borsen,* which is much more detailed in its provisions than that of Moscow, was signed on the 9th of March, 1701. By this treaty the Czar and the King stipulated as follows:—

Art. 2. That the Czar shall place from 15,000 to 20,000 men at the disposal of the King, and, if possible, unite them with the Saxon army between Pleskow and Dünaburg.

* The text of the Treaties of Moscow and Borsen, from the originals in the Royal archives at Dresden, were first published in the anonymous 'Life and Memoirs of Schulenburg.' This book appeared only a few years ago, and is attributed to a person of eminence in the Saxon diplomatic service.

Art. 5. That the Czar shall deliver 100,000 pounds of gunpowder, and convey the same to Witepsk on the Düna.

Art. 6. The Czar engages to pay yearly, for two years, the sum of 100,000 roubles, or 200,000 thalers, to the King.

Art. 7. The Czar renounces for himself and his successors all rights which may accrue by conquest in Esthonia and Livonia, and consents that those provinces shall again be incorporated with the kingdom of Poland. In return, he is to reserve for himself whatever conquests may be made in *Ingria* and *Carelia*.

Art. 10. The two Monarchs agree to give their ally, the King of Denmark, notice of this treaty.

A secret article further provided, that at the end of June the Czar should disburse to the King 20,000 roubles, to be expended in buying or rewarding useful members of the Polish nobility and senate.

Thus, in spite of the Peace of Travendal, Denmark still kept up a secret understanding with Saxony and Russia with which last State she had signed an alliance, offensive and defensive, at Moscow, on the 23rd of January, 1701. The objects aimed at by the several parties to this treaty are now sufficiently plain. Peter, who by the Peace of Constantinople (June 13, 1700) had obtained possession of the port of Azof, was anxious to secure a similar outlet for his commerce on the Baltic, and to this end made pretensions to Ingria and Carelia, through which countries the Neva flows into the Gulf of Finland. Frederick Augustus hoped to restore to the Crown of Poland, Courland, Esthonia, and Livonia, its ancient fiefs. The King of Denmark desired the humiliation and disarming of his restless neighbour, and

the recognition by the allies of his claims on Holstein. The first consequence of these treaties was that a considerable force of Muscovites was sent to join the army of Saxony and Poland.

On the 19th of July, 1702, the two armies, commanded by their Kings in person, met near Clissow; the Saxons had somewhat the superiority in numbers, and the more favourable position; but opposed to them were some of the best soldiers in the world, trained to the strictest discipline, and inured to victory. The result, which competent military authorities attribute far more to the gallantry of the soldiery than the skill of their leader, was not for a moment in suspense. At the very first discharge the Polish horse broke in a panic and fled from the field; and though the infantry, thus unsupported and attacked with fury on every side, was saved by the cool intrepidity of Schulenburg, who commanded it, the rout was decisive and complete. The united army lost all its baggage, its military chest, its cannon, and the most of the colours.

In spite of this success, the King of Sweden was not strong enough to advance, and remained in Poland, where he intrigued against Frederick Augustus with the venal and dissatisfied nobility, while the allies endeavoured to attack him by means of new alliances with the Princes of Northern Germany. We possess a series of Patkul's relations or secret despatches to the Czar from 1703 to 1705 inclusive; they are mostly written in cipher, and throw a good deal of light upon the intrigues at the Russian and Polish Courts, and the views of Peter in his hollow alliance with Frederick Augustus; not that, in our opinion, the alliance was one whit less hollow on the part of the latter. We have conclusive evi-

dence that in 1702 he had already made overtures to the King of Sweden for a separate peace, which Charles XII. however would not entertain. His accomplished mistress, the Countess von Königsmark, and afterwards his chamberlain, the Baron von Vitzthum, had been sent on this bootless errand to the Swedish camp. The latter was arrested and detained for several weeks in confinement; the former, whom Charles characterized at once by a coarse but true expression, was sent back without being admitted to his presence. The King of Sweden was in truth inexorable in his enmities, and, as Frederick the Great said of him, had no way of revenging himself upon Kings but by dethroning them.

We will bestow our attention for a short time upon the communications which Patkul made to the Imperial Court. It was the advice of the Minister that the Czar should take care to entertain suspicion and jealousy between the King and the Cardinal-Primate Radziejowsky, the Prince Lubomirsky, the Crown-General Szucka, and other chief men of the Polish party. It is not, he argued, for the interest of Muscovy that Poland should ever be united and strong; the Czar will find his surest advantage in keeping Frederick Augustus in a continual state of dependence upon himself, which may best be accomplished by giving secret encouragement to the confederations of the nobles opposed to the party of the King.* He reports that the bribes and gratifications have had an excellent effect, and that it would be advisable to continue them.† That the King is utterly without resources,

* Despatch to Gollowyn; Mohilow, August $\frac{15}{26}$, 1703, Ber. i. pp. 2–4; to the Czar, September $\frac{18}{29}$, 1703, Ber. i. p. 26.

† To Gollowyn, August $\frac{15}{26}$, 1703, Ber. i. p. 3; to the Czar, September $\frac{7}{18}$, 1703, Ber. i. p. 15. The backwardness of the Czar to send money for these purposes is often alluded to and blamed. The impression

either of troops or money, and may, if not vigorously supported against Sweden, find himself compelled to a separate peace with that power on very hard conditions.* The terms of an active co-operation are enumerated and explained; the King of Poland can bring twenty thousand men into the field by the end of spring, but has no means of paying them. It will be necessary to assist him, but his demands are excessive.† He is dissatisfied with the sums doled out to him, and has hinted that he could get more from the Emperor of Germany, if he accepted that Prince's mediation between himself and Sweden, and handed over his army to the use of the Allies.‡ Here and there too Patkul enables us to see for what purposes these extravagant subsidies were required, and to what end these excessive demands were made. The bad economy and shameless prodigality of the Saxon Court, its tasteless, childish magnificence, and unblushing profligacy, were to be supported by Russian money. Although the despatches nowhere give positive accounts of the sums which were squandered on the innumerable mistresses of the King and their rapacious creatures, they still contain very intelligible hints that

however was general that Patkul was the dispenser of the Russian secret funds. In the 'Lettres Historiques,' 1703, p. 523, we find, "On parle fort d'une alliance entre S. M. Czarienne et la République de Pologne; et l'on croit remarquer que les bourses d'or que le Général Patkul a apportées depuis peu de Moscovie, pour avancer cette alliance, ont déjà produit un bon effet."

* To Gollowyn, $\frac{\text{August } 29}{\text{September } 9}$, 1703, Ber. i. p. 9.

† To the Czar, Warsaw, September $\frac{7}{18}$, 1703, Ber. i. p. 17.

‡ To the Czar, September $\frac{18}{29}$, 1703, Ber. i. p. 27; and October $\frac{1}{12}$ (Annex B), Ber. i. p. 56. It is evident that Frederick Augustus hoped at this time for an accommodation with Charles XII.; but as this hope vanished, he again threw himself upon the Czar, and accepted two instead of the three hundred thousand roubles, which he had asked for.

no money ought to be given unaccompanied by a plan for putting its disposal out of the power of the King and his Ministry. A commission is proposed, Patkul probably not choosing to have the undivided responsibility of refusals which could hardly tend to render him popular at Dresden or Warsaw.* But without some such provision, it is abundantly evident that the profligate Countesses of Teschen or Kösel, and their brothers or cousins, would have soon dissipated the funds which were necessary for the pay and rations and the transport of the army. The hostility of England to the Russo-Polish alliance is more than once touched upon. In one despatch Patkul reports that secret letters from Queen Anne to Charles XII. have been intercepted, copied, and sent on, from which it appears that England was determined upon the deposition of the King of Poland.† He relates elsewhere that the Imperials, Holland and England, were very unfavourable to an alliance between Russia and Poland, and that they could not conceal their jealousy at the Czar's obtaining a port on the Baltic.‡ The most pressing object at this time was to revive the alliance between Denmark, Russia, Saxony, and Poland, which had been gradually relinquished, and to induce the new King of Prussia§ to join the league against Sweden. To this object Patkul now devoted himself, and spared neither pains nor bribes to bring it to a favourable conclusion. He spent his

* To the Czar, October $\frac{12}{23}$; to Gollowyn, November $\frac{5}{16}$; to the Czar, $\frac{\text{November } 29}{\text{December } 10}$, 1703; to Gollowyn, February $\frac{2}{13}$, 1704; March 8th, July 9th, 1704: see Ber. vol. i. pp. 54, 64, 80, 122, 145, and 228.

† To the Czar, September $\frac{18}{29}$, 1703, Ber. i. p. 23.

‡ To the Czar, September $\frac{18}{29}$, 1703, Ber. i. pp. 27, 28.

§ Frederick I., son of the Great Elector. In 1700 this Prince had half persuaded, half compelled, the Emperor to consent to the conversion of the Electorate into a kingdom.

days and nights in journeys between Dresden, Warsaw, and Berlin, and lavished money with an unsparing hand upon all whose influence might be worth securing. In a secret despatch to Gollowyn, March 8th, 1704, he writes:* "Patkul has promised to pay the following sums at Berlin:—to Count Wartemberg (the Prime Minister) 10,000 ducats, to Ilgen 6000, to the Chancery 2000, and to the Field-Marshal 8000 ducats yearly, as long as the war shall last." He made similar engagements in Denmark, England, and Holland, and even in Saxony expended considerable sums in *secret service*.† In a series of most able despatches he dilates upon the advantages to be derived from an alliance with Prussia. Sweden, he argued, was the real and natural enemy of Brandenburg, as the great Elector had clearly seen. It could not be doubted that her object was sooner or later to seize upon the whole Baltic coast from Livonia to Pomerania, to make conquests in Prussia itself, and thus place the lands of the King of Prussia in the utmost jeopardy.‡ In order to meet this real and imminent danger, Prussia must seek for alliances, not in France—too far off and too much hampered by her own difficulties to render efficient aid—but in Poland, Russia, and Denmark. Attacked vigorously in Poland, and ruined there,—a point on which Patkul never wavers,—the King of Sweden will lie at the mercy of the allies, who may deprive him of all his continental possessions, and divide them among themselves. The State of Livonia, exas-

* Ber. i. p. 100.

† See his Despatches to the Czar, April $\frac{2}{13}$, 1704, and to Gollowyn, July 9th of the same year, Ber. i. pp. 185, 229.

‡ To Gollowyn, $\frac{\text{January } 25}{\text{February } 5}$; to the same, February $\frac{2}{13}$; to the same, July 9th; to the Czar, August $\frac{6}{17}$; to Gollowyn, August $\frac{1}{12}$; to the same, August $\frac{11}{22}$, 1704, Ber. vol. i. pp. 114, 125, 235, 266, 273, 281.

perated by the tyranny of the Swedish Court, made an attack in that quarter plausible, and the first success would certainly allure the King of Prussia into joining the league. But another and important object, which ought never to be lost sight of, was the creation of a third party in Europe, which should consist of the Danish, Prussian, Polish, Russian, and Saxon interests, together with the Duke of Brunswick or the Elector of Hanover,* and thus be enabled to give the law, as mediator, between the two contending Powers, France and Spain, with Italy, on the one side, England, Holland, and the House of Austria on the other.†

All these things duly considered, it must be confessed that Patkul was serving the interests of Russia with zeal and vigour. Nor was Peter ungrateful: he gave him the command of the auxiliary corps of 12,000 men destined to serve in Poland, with the rank of Lieutenant-General, and the further title of a Privy Councillor in activity, or, as we now say, Minister of State; and it must also be admitted that he was doing everything in his power to ruin Sweden. Accordingly the Swedish King proposed to revenge himself with the utmost severity if ever Patkul fell into his hands. The plans of the allies depended however entirely upon the success which might attend them in the field; and here they were decidedly inferior to the King of Sweden both as regarded the number and quality of their troops. The Muscovites were fit for nothing; they had not the slightest pretension to the character of soldiers, and served only to increase the difficulties of a march, and diminish the means of subsistence for the army; in the hour of battle they on most

* The Elector of Hanover, the heir-apparent of the English throne!

† To the Czar, April $\frac{2}{13}$, 1704, Ber. i. p. 190.

occasions did nothing whatever but disorganize and expose their Saxon comrades, usually breaking in panic terror at the first discharge, or flying at the first sight of the Swedish bayonets, leaving the flanks of the infantry to be turned and enveloped. The Polish horse, supplied by the Republic, conducted themselves throughout in a manner almost as infamous. The Saxon troops, of which something might have been made,—inasmuch as they were well officered, and many regiments consisted of veteran soldiers,—could hardly be kept together for want of the subsidies the Czar promised, but did not pay; or, when he paid, *paid in light copecks*, which caused a loss of a third to the soldier. The magazines were empty; the cannon could not be transported for want of a regular train; there was no commissariat, and no military chest: the mistresses of Frederick Augustus and their lovers or relatives plundered the treasure, exhausting in shameless debauchery and tasteless splendour the funds which were indispensable for the defence of his Crown. The result of such a state of things was easily to be foreseen. Charles XII. was victorious in every point; dissolved the alliances formed against him; defeated the Saxons and Poles in repeated engagements; deposed Frederick Augustus from the throne of Poland, and caused Stanislaus Leczinski to be elected King. Nothing gives a more striking evidence of the contemptible character of the Saxon Elector than his condescending to base entreaties to be allowed to retain the title of a King when the kingdom itself had been torn from his hands. At length Charles XII., finding no other foe to subdue, flung himself upon the Czar, isolated and deprived of all his allies, and might well have changed all the future destinies of Europe but for the event, the least in the world to be

expected, the utter destruction of his army at Pultava in the year 1709.

Although Patkul, during the earlier part of these events, retained the command of a large corps of Muscovites, we do not hear much of his military services; in the few instances where his name is mentioned it is very probable that he has been confounded with General Peykul, another victim of Charles XII.'s unsparing and vindictive severity.* Indeed his talents as a General seem to have been of a very secondary quality, and to have been greatly exceeded by his aptitude and inclination for political intrigue. It is therefore much to be regretted that his relations or despatches extend only from the middle of 1703 till the end of March 1705, and that neither his earlier negotiations nor those of the close of 1705 have been preserved. The latter would be particularly valuable, as they would render the causes of his ultimate ruin far more clear and intelligible than they are up to this moment. Although we can trace in the public events in which he took a share many circumstances which tend to explain his catastrophe, it seems very certain that his own personal character had no inconsiderable influence upon his fate. It has been remarked by one

* Peykul was, like Patkul, a Livonian, and entered the Saxon service, where he rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General. On the breaking out of the war with Sweden, Charles had issued letters of recall to all his subjects engaged on the side of his enemy. These Peykul disregarded, and continued to command against the Swedes till he was out-manœuvred by them, and compelled, with his whole force, to lay down his arms. His claim to be treated as a prisoner of war was rejected; he was sent to Stockholm and put upon his trial for high treason. In his imprisonment he pretended to the art of transmuting metals, and was for a very long time allowed to amuse the Ministry with the fallacious hope of making gold; but at last their patience was exhausted, and, in pursuance of his sentence, the unlucky General was decapitated.

who knew him well, that Patkul's temper and disposition were very bad; that he was haughty, overbearing, and malicious, while his love of chicane and intrigue rendered him dangerous. The evidence is that of an enemy, but nevertheless the judgement does not appear to be unjust. He appears never to have secured, or very soon to have lost, the favour of Frederick Augustus, who disliked him probably not less on public than private grounds. With the Saxon Ministry he was throughout on the worst possible terms. His multifarious intrigues with the Courts of Prussia, Russia, Denmark, and Austria, could not be entirely unknown to the King and his Council of State; in fact as latterly he was dealing underhand with Sweden itself, and endeavouring to earn his pardon from that power at the expense of the Electorate, it is possible that the Swedish Court itself may have thought fit to enlighten the Saxon Ministers as to the conduct of the Muscovite General. It is also very certain that in the discharge of his duty to the Czar, Patkul had been compelled to decline advances of money which Frederick required him to make for other than national purposes; and I have read somewhere that the commencement of his disgrace is to be dated from his refusal of a large sum of money to Aurora von Königsmark; this is in so far improbable, that of all the King's mistresses this lady alone appears to have been devoid of debauchery and rapacity; but with the Lubomirska or the Kösel it was likely enough; and in the last days of his life he himself attributed his ruin to having compelled the King on some occasion to send back a box of jewels which he contemplated paying for with the Russian subsidy, and had presented to one of these women. But however hostile may have been the feelings with which he was

regarded by Frederick Augustus and the Council of State to whom the Government of Dresden was committed during the King's absence in Poland, he had still a strong support to rely upon. He had established himself very firmly in the good graces of Madame Royale, the King's mother, and by her influence and favour he long maintained himself in Dresden against all the attacks of the Council; but this very favour at length only tended to precipitate his fate. The Master of the Household to Madame Royale, a M. von Rumohr, had a daughter, Anna Marie, married to Privy-Councillor von Einsiedel; but she had very soon been left a widow, was very young and possessed of great personal charms, and to a very large inherited property added a jointure enormous for those days;—so that she was looked upon as the richest match in Saxony. Patkul's protectress formed the plan of securing this young lady's wealth for her favourite; the marriage was arranged with the consent and to the satisfaction of all the parties, and the nuptials were to have been celebrated on the very day following that in which Patkul was arrested. This accession to his wealth, and consequently his influence, alarmed and enraged the Council of State; it was determined to break the match off by any means and at any cost. The Council were fully in possession of information respecting intrigues which Patkul was at this time engaged in of a threatening character for the interests of the King; they hoped that by placing these in a proper light before Frederick Augustus they would secure his approval of the extreme measure they meditated. The Russian General had in fact entered into a concert with the Austrian Envoy to transfer the Muscovite troops under his command from the service of Saxony to that of the Em-

peror. This measure, to which Patkul engaged himself by a solemn treaty with the Count Strattman—which the Czar afterwards disowned*—would have inflicted a most serious blow upon the interests of Frederick Augustus, and was no doubt mainly intended to conciliate the King of Sweden, whose anger Patkul ever instinctively strove to appease. The papers found in his possession, and now in the Royal archives at Dresden, prove clearly that his object at this time was neither to serve the Czar nor the King-Elector, but through the mediation of Prussia to obtain an amnesty from Charles XII.† Under all these circumstances, the Council of State determined upon a step which is almost without a parallel. On the 15th of December, 1705, the treaty with Strattman had been signed; in the night of the 19th–20th the unfortunate General was arrested and conveyed to the fortress of Sonnenstein. The following account of the transaction was sent early in 1706 by Schulenburg, enclosed in a letter to Leibnitz:—"Le 18me de ce mois M. Patkul célébra les fiançailles avec la fille du vieux Conseiller-privé Rumor, qui est une dame de 500 mille ecus. Il n'a cherché par cette alliance qu'un appuye de sa grande autorité en Saxe, vu que Mad. Royale soutient extrêmement la famille du Rumor, et en cas de la mort du Roy, le Sieur Patkul croyoit être l'unique Ministre, et l'oracle du Saxe. Il avoit déjà insulté et intimidé la pluspart du Conseil privé; mais quelques-uns de cet illustre Collége, ayant aperçu que le Sieur Patkul avoit fait un traité avec l'Ambassadeur de l'Empereur, qui est ici, pour faire marcher les trouppes Moscovites qui

* Gollowyn's Despatch to Strattman, Moscow, January 13th, 1706. Mém. Schulenb., i. 220.

† Mém. Schulenb., i. 219.

sont dans ce pays ici, en Italie, prirent la vigoureuse résolution de prévenir ce mauvais dessein, et firent arrêter le Sieur Patkul, le 19 à dix heures du soir, et le conduire à Sonnenstein. Tout le monde en est surpris, ne sachant pas la cause de cet arrêt imprévu. Aujourdhuy on vient d'expédier un courier au Roy, pour l'en informer, et on verra comment il se prendra, et quelles mesures il fera là-dessus."* There can be little doubt that this passage contains a good part, though possibly not the whole, of the truth in relation to this event, and I fear it contains all that we are ever likely to learn respecting it.

The arrest of a person of such consequence under such circumstances, and in the absence of the King, produced an enormous sensation, and was universally condemned. The diplomatic corps were indignant at a step which appeared subversive of their privileges; the Austrian and Danish Ministers formally protested against it as an unheard-of violation of the law of nations. The Russian agent at Dresden for the auxiliary troops, Prince Galitzin, not only joined in this protest, but refused to perform any public functions, especially as regarded any further payment of the stipulated subsidies.† The Saxon Ministers attempted to defend their act upon the ground that Patkul's mission was not a diplomatic one, and that

* Leibnitz had asked Schulenburg for information on the subject, and received only this answer, which is evidently by a third hand, from his friend. Schulenburg, who, as a member of the Council, had concurred in, if not proposed, Patkul's arrest, probably did not think it consistent with his duty to give any explanation of what had been done.

† Nestesuranoi, 'Mém. du Règne de Pierre le Grand,' 1705, p. 571. Alvensleben, in a letter to Leibnitz, dated February 1st, 1706, says: "Il est vray, Monsieur, que le Roy de Pologne a approuvé l'emprisonnement de M. de Patcul; mais pour l'approbation du Czaar,—tant s'en faut qu'elle soit arrivée, qu'au contraire l'argent que le Czaar s'est engagé à faire payer pour les trouppes Saxonnes, vient d'etre contre-

the character with which he was invested was purely military. This ground is alleged in a *Pro Memoria*, recorded January 3rd, 1700, by Von Hoymb, President of the Chamber:* This paper, it is true, offers no evidence in support of the assertion; but it seems hardly probable that it could have been so boldly and openly advanced had it been entirely without foundation. Moreover in one of his despatches to the Czar, Patkul had certainly proposed the laying down of his ministerial quality as conducive to the advantage of the Muscovite service, and had expressed the wish to retain only his military command. The most serious question however was how so unusual a step would be looked upon by the Czar and the King of Poland. If either of them disapproved and disavowed it, the ruin of every member of the Council was inevitable. All anxiety on this subject was soon at an end. Peter did at first seem disposed to resent the treatment which his Minister had received; but it was soon whispered that his favourite, Prince Alexander, approved of what had been done, and that the Czar had allowed himself to be appeased. He probably supposed that the arrest would be of short duration, or that at all events Patkul would be sent to Moscow to take his trial upon such charges as might be brought against him. He nevertheless demanded an explanation and satisfaction for the insult; and on the 13th of

mandé, et qu'on n'en a pas touché un sol, la dernière foire de Leipzig. Le Roy a envoyé le Chambellan Steinbeck, frère du Vice-Chancelier de la Couronne, au Czaar, pour l'affaire de Patcul. Cependant l'infanterie a ordre de marcher en Pologne sans argent et sans equippage. Le dit emprisonnement a épouvanté ceux-mêmes qu'on croit y avoir bonne part, par la peur qu'ils ont d'un pareil traitement tôt ou tard. On dit même que le Prince de Fürstenberg cherche à se démettre du service, et à entrer dans celuy de l'Empereur."

* Mém. Schulenb., i. 219.

February Gollowyn informed Patkul of this fact, as well of the Czar's intention to support him, adding that he would have taken more active steps but for the troubles consequent upon the march of the Swedes into Lithuania.* The biographer of the Countess Aurora von Königsmark attributes the slackness of the Czar in this matter to the effect of the calumnies with which the Saxons loaded Patkul;† but it seems certain that Peter was not only dissatisfied with his General's conduct, but felt himself compelled to humour his Polish ally, whose fidelity and steadiness of purpose were always questionable.

The King of Poland however not only approved of the act of his council, but gave directions to his envoys in England and elsewhere to mark his surprise and dissatisfaction at negotiations, the result of which would have been to deprive him of six thousand men, whose services it was impossible for him to dispense with.‡ And in truth the pressure of his difficulties had reached so alarming a degree, that even all the aid of his allies appeared not superfluous, if his honour and rank were still to be saved. The Swedes had pushed forward their troops, and threatened Warsaw. On the news of these movements, Schulenburg, the only General of merit in the King's army, set out to meet them; but a General without an army is as little likely to effect any great object, as an army without a General. The force upon which Schulenburg could rely was the Saxon infantry, but this was badly appointed and provisioned, and very ill sup-

* Mém. Schulenb. i. 221.

† Cramer, Denkwürdigkeiten der Gräfin Königsmark, i. 373.

‡ Letter from Frederick Augustus to Von Gersdorf, January 8th, 1706.

plied with artillery and ammunition. To these troops were added Patkul's division of Muscovites and a strong body of Polish cavalry, and with these questionable auxiliaries the army of the King-Elector greatly outnumbered the Swedes. General Rheinschild however could trust in the discipline of his smaller force, and after manœuvring for some time in retreat, suddenly turned round and attacked Schulenburg with the utmost fury, near the town of Frauenstadt, where he lay entrenched in order of battle. I have already entered into the details of this engagement:* suffice it here to say that the Muscovites and the Polish horse fled at the first onset, and that the Saxon dragoons followed their scandalous example; the infantry alone retrieved for awhile the honour of the Saxon arms, but they were speedily enveloped, broken, and cut down: everything fell into the hands of the victors; and the rout was so complete, that Schulenburg himself, after forcing his way through the enemy with the utmost difficulty, escaped from the field, accompanied by only two horsemen. Saxony remained, without an army, defenceless, and entirely open to the invaders.

The terrible remembrance of Horn and Baner was yet present to the minds of the Princes of the Empire: they trembled at the thought of again witnessing the march of the Swedish force into their territories: they attempted to mediate, but their interference was promptly and peremptorily declined: negotiation and remonstrance were alike fruitless, and for resistance, both the means and the courage, perhaps even the inclination, failed. Charles XII. inspired too much terror, nor would any member of the princely or electoral colleges place his own land in jeopardy on behalf of a King whom no one could respect,

* *Vide* p. 293.

and whom many secretly hated as much as they despised. Steadily and unchecked the victorious armies advanced, taking possession of the country on every side, and not even met by that heroic spirit which sometimes raises a people *en masse* to defend a beloved ruler, and the peace of their own household. The Council of State in Dresden, deprived of the presence of the King, without money or an army or a man of conduct and courage, came to the humiliating conclusion, that the only chance of saving even the Electoral dominions lay in an unreserved submission to the conqueror. Overtures for peace were made, which the King of Sweden at length haughtily condescended to accept. The plenipotentiaries met at Alt Rannstadt, and an ignominious treaty was signed by the Council on behalf of the King. Among the bitter conditions of this peace were, the relinquishment of the Polish throne by Frederick Augustus, the recognition of Stanislaus Leczinski as King, the quartering of the Swedish army in Saxony till the fulfilment of all the stipulations, which included heavy payments for the costs of the war, and the extradition of Lieutenant-General Patkul. Deeply as the dishonour of this last condition was felt, there was no escape from it: intercession and entreaties were all in vain, or only tended to increase the obstinacy with which they were rejected. Charles XII. was inexorable, and demanded the utmost tittle of his bond. Attempts were indeed made and plans devised to facilitate Patkul's secret escape from the fortress in which he was confined; but at length dread of the vindictive conqueror and the consequences to themselves, should he be cheated of his victim, overcame all nobler considerations, and the unfortunate statesman was delivered up to his executioners. As to the fate that awaited him, there could be no doubt.

After having been detained for some time in close custody, he was carried under a strong escort to the town of Casimir on the Vistula, and there most barbarously put to death by the wheel. The head and limbs were exposed on poles till they entirely vanished by the action of the elements.* A tale of Voltaire's, that Frederick Augustus in happier days collected Patkul's remains and showed them, preserved in a casket, to De Bezenval, is a fable. The King-Elector did no doubt in 1713 make an attempt to give Christian burial to the bones of one who might be considered his victim, but the officer despatched upon this duty was compelled to report that nothing now remained or could be discovered of the body. It is said that the sufferings of Patkul were greatly increased by the ignorance and inexperience of the peasant who acted as his executioner; and a horrible report existed, that the officer who commanded the guard at the scaffold, and had mercifully permitted the head to be struck off before life was extinct in the mangled limbs, was cashiered by Charles XII.'s express command.†

As many allusions to Patkul and his intrigues occur in these letters, I thought fit to give some account of his life and fate, which was once but imperfectly known, and

* A description of Patkul's last moments is given by Leonhart Hagen, the chaplain who prepared him for death and attended him to the scaffold: from this account most of the others seem to have been derived. It is found very nearly entire in the 'Theatrum Europæum,' vol. xviii. (1707), p. 279, and in the anonymous 'Berichte,' vol. iii. p. 278. It appears also to have been translated into English, under the title of 'Anecdotes concerning the famous John Reinhold Patkul; or an authentic Relation of what passed between him and his Confessor, and at his Execution.' London, 1761.

† "Sans égard aux intercessions des autres Souverains, quand les Suédois, sortis de Saxe, furent rentrés en Pologne, Patkul fut roué, au commencement d'Octobre, 1707, dans la ville de Kasimir. Ce qu'il y a de plus

is now perhaps entirely forgotten. We cannot feel much sympathy for him, or deny that he was himself the main cause of his own ruin; but he played in his time too important a part to be totally omitted from an historical gallery of portraits of the seventeenth century. We cannot deny that his active opposition to the Reunion under Charles XI. led him into acts which fall under even the strictest definition of high treason: however deep the provocation given by the King may originally have been, we cannot deny that the measures in which he engaged against Charles XII. partook to the last degree of the nature of that crime. Setting aside the events of his early life, until his flight into Switzerland, we find him treating with contempt the Avocatoria, or Letters of Recall, which Charles XII. published on the 3rd of April, 1700, and by which all his Livonian subjects were commanded to leave the Saxo-Polish service on pain of high treason.* Patkul, like Peykul, chose to run the risk, and justly suffered. He levied actual war against the King in Livonia, a province of Sweden, and commanded a body of cavalry against the Swedish Generals. He negotiated treaties of alliance against the Princes in whose jurisdiction he was born and in whose service he had been commissioned: he did all that his restless energy and untiring perseverance could effect to cripple their resources, to detach

étonnant, c'est que l'officier Suédois qui dut assister à l'exécution du malheureux Patkul et qui lui fit trancher la tête, quoique ce fût bien après qu'il avoit été roué et qu'à peine respirait-il encore, fut cassé par le Roi de Suède, qui avoit ordonné qu'on ne lui trancheroit la tête que lorsqu'il auroit expiré dans les souffrances."—*Journal de Pierre le Grand*, p. 161. This anecdote, which we will earnestly hope is apocryphal, shows well the feeling which Charles XII. was known to entertain against Patkul.

* See the document in Theatrum Europ., xv. 783.

their provinces, and seduce their subjects to revolt, to ruin their armies, to alienate their friends, to comfort and assist their enemies. His execution then, when at length he fell into their hands, cannot surprise us, or shock our sense of justice, however we may turn with disgust from the barbarity of its nature; and even this ought to be judged according to the practices and feelings, not of the nineteenth, but the seventeenth century. The law of every state, in such a case, would have justified, and Patkul had richly earned, a sentence of death: we do not blame the Swedes for inflicting it. But nothing can extenuate or excuse the cowardly and ignominious surrender of him by the Saxons. If his arrest were thought necessary, upon the principle that *salus populi suprema lex*, he should have been sent at once to Moscow, even at the risk of falling on the way into the hands of Swedish parties. Over him the Saxons had no authority, and his imprisonment was a *coup d'état*, not an act of law and a competent jurisdiction. If not as a Russian Minister, at least as a Russian General, he ought to have been accused and sent to be judged before his master, his offences not being of a merely military character. The Saxons had a right to render him innocuous; but they had none to deliver him up to those who thirsted for his blood. If Charles XII. stained his memory with cruelty by his vindictive persecution of this wretched man, with what shall we say the memory of Frederick Augustus is loaded, who gave up an old servant and instrument to the rage of his most implacable enemy?

149.] ANONYMOUS TO PATKUL.

Berlin, March 18th, 1704.

Sir,

Three or four days ago they received news here, as it is said, upon sure authority, which have greatly chagrined and disconcerted both the King of Prussia and the most trusted of his Ministers. It is, Sir, that the Czar is going to Nötteburg with a numerous Court and a great quantity of ladies, and that the greater part of his troops are destined to be moved in the same direction. It has been announced besides, that although they have given themselves a great deal of trouble and pains in Muscovy, after all they cannot furnish the succours which they have promised the King of Poland, either in men or in money; and that even if they did, these succours would arrive so late that the King of Poland would get but little good from them. If these news should turn out to be true, you can easily believe, Sir, that it would have the effect of upsetting all that was done during your long stay here; seeing that the promises which were made to you were founded upon the understanding that the Czar, instead of going in the direction of Ingria, would send a good army into Courland, and that the King of Poland should be placed in a condition to make head against the King of Sweden by means of the succours which should be sent to him from Muscovy. The King of Prussia sent Ilgen to me, express, to communicate to me the above-said bad piece of news; he has spoken to me himself frequently about it since, and has told me in very significant terms, that in case it is true, people are not to have any great expectations of seeing him burn his own paw to take their chestnuts out of the fire. I have done everything in the world to patch up the business by persuading that perhaps the news was not true, and that I was convinced of the Czar's being a religious observer of his word, and that in a little while the effects would show; but I have not been able to diminish much of the incredulity which it appears people have conceived on this subject. You, Sir, know how important the affair is, and

on that account I would not neglect to give you advice of it. Write, I entreat you, in God's name, to the Czar, and use every effort that we may soon see the contrary of what is reported. I am, with much esteem and passion, Sir, your very obedient and very humble servant,

Z.

150.] LEIBNITZ TO STEPNEY.

Hanover, March 24th, 1704.

Sir,

Not having been able to have the happiness of enjoying your passage through this place, in order not to take you away from persons who had more important and agreeable things to tell you than myself, I take the liberty of writing a word to you to testify both to the regret which I feel, and how much I am honoured by your goodness in remembering me. I am charmed to learn from Berlin that the King and the Ministers have done justice to you, and have distinguished the times as you yourself, Sir, have not failed to do with your usual wisdom. If it is true, as we have every reason to hope, that the King of Prussia has chosen the better part, namely that of taking the salvation of the Empire in hand, it will be as glorious as profitable to him; but affairs would get on still better, if for that purpose he were to act in concert with all the House of Brunswick. We are also led to hope that M. the Elector Palatine may possibly do us the honour of passing this way. I wish there was any way in which it might be managed that his E. H. should go first to Berlin, for a mediator of so much consideration and so well intentioned might have a very good effect; but I am afraid that the ceremonial is in the way, which perhaps is not yet sufficiently regulated.

I do not know whether this letter will find you at Vienna, and I should be glad if it did not, because in that case you will have started for Hungary, which would give me a good deal of hope, and make me believe that effectively affairs were

in a good way of being made up; otherwise I must confess that I am a little incredulous, considering all the circumstances, and the little reliance that can be placed upon all that we have been told up to this time.

The Queen of Prussia has invited my lord Shaftesbury to spend this summer at Lützenburg. She made his acquaintance long ago, and esteems him much; but Mr. Davenant fears that he may already have returned to England. Mr. Pooley is returned hither, after having taken the compliments of condolence to Wolfenbüttel on the part of the Queen.

The money comes in admirably among your people; there is a regular crush to bring it in, and it is said some one has positively been crushed to death in the crowd. But in point of fact the condition of annuities is really a profitable one; I have always thought so, and been astonished a hundred times over that in countries where Rome is recognized, and where there are so many unmarried ecclesiastics, they should not be more in vogue. It is the most efficacious way which can be devised to guard against nepotism; for many of those who might employ their money so profitably for themselves, and be, so to say, their own inheritors, will care very little about their nephews and nieces. However you have other things to do, Sir, than to amuse yourself with useless letters; I finish, therefore, and am, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

151.] FREDERICK AUGUSTUS TO SCHULENBURG.

Sendomir, 18 *May*, 1704.

Je ne sais pas la raison que vous pouvez avoir de demander votre congé; votre conduite a été telle, que j'en ai été très satisfait, ce qui me met d'autant plus en étonnement que dans un tems où j'ai besoin de vous, vous demandez votre retraite. Ainsi à l'heure qu'il est je ne puis me passer de vous la refuser, espérant que, comme homme d'honneur, vous ne quitterez pas dans les conjonctures présentes. Si vous avez quelque

chagrin, parlez: on vous fera justice, et je serais toujours votre très affectionné

AUGUSTE, ROI.

152.] PATKUL TO SCHULENBURG.

From the King's Camp near Sendomir, May 23rd, 1704.

Sir,

I have the honour to advise you by these lines that I have spoken to the King about you. I can assure you, Sir, that the tales of your enemies have had no effect upon his Majesty's mind; on the contrary, he approves of your conduct throughout, and promises to support you with vigour. I hope that you will be content with this, and that you will take a pleasure yourself in working conjointly with us at the re-establishment of the tottering fortunes of a master who has a serious determination to turn over a new leaf, of which I have convincing proofs in my own hands. I conjure you, Sir, to take such steps that we may see you with as little delay as possible at the head of the infantry. Everything here is going on admirably throughout the whole kingdom; they sigh for the army of Saxony, etc. etc.

J. R. PATKUL.

153.] FREDERICK AUGUSTUS, KING OF POLAND, TO SCHULENBURG.

A deux lieues de Varcas, le 28 Août, 1704.

Par celle-ci vous apprendrez que j'ai passé heureusement la Vistule et espère d'être le 30 à Varsovie, où se trouve encore le Général Horn et la pluspart des confédérés; j'espère les y attraper et me saisir de leur pont, pour ensuite marcher du côté de Praga; je ne crois pas qu'ils me manqueront, personne n'ayant avis de ma marche selon mes nouvelles, mais on me croyait en Volhynie, vers où le Roi de Suède doit être marché; il

conduit de la grosse artillerie avec soi, laquelle l'embarrassera beaucoup s'il veut retrousser chemin pour me suivre, ayant 20 m. Cosaques à ses trousses, et l'arrière-saison, qui approche, rendrait ce pays impraticable, et j'espère par là de lui avoir fait échouer la campagne. J'attends avec impatience de vos nouvelles et des mouvemens que vous êtes intentionné de faire sur l'approche du Palatin de Posnanie (Stanislaus), pour que je me puisse régler. Vous pouvez être persuadé qu'il n'a que 3000 hs. d'infanterie et 2 m. de cavalerie Suèdoise, et 3 m. Polonais de Lubomirsky, dont la pluspart ne sont que des paysans. Le nombre et la qualité étant la pluspart de nouvelles levées, vous ne devez pas balancer à aller les rencontrer, pendant que je les suivrais de près, et ce que nous devons faire sitôt que cela se fasse vite, pour qu'ils ne puissent recevoir des renforts du Roi. Mais aussi comme il se pourrait que quand ils apprendront que je suis derrière eux, ils ne vous quittent et ils ne viennent vers moi, il faut que vous tâchiez de les serrer de près pour les prendre entre deux. Je ferai descendre le pont de Varsovie à Sakrozin, pour avoir le passage en Prusse et nous joindre à l'infanterie moscovite que descend le Bug. J'espère que vous aurez reçu mes deux précédentes et attends avec impatience de vos nouvelles de ce que vous êtes intentionné de faire, pour m'y régler. A Varsovie je ne séjournerai que 4 ou 5 jours pour laisser reposer ma cavalerie, qui a marché 52 lieues en 12 jours et passé quatre rivières, qui est le Boug, Viperz, Vistule et Pillizca, et nous n'avons tout au plus que 100 marodes, lesquels peuvent même encore servir en cas de besoin. Ne me laissez pas dans l'incertitude de ce que vous faites; tout consiste dans la vitesse.

A. R.

154.] HARLEY TO STEPNEY.

Whitehall, Sept. $\frac{5}{16}$, 1704.

Sir,

I wrote you by the last post an account of the Receipt of yours by the packets w^h^ came in Thursday and Friday last.

I cannot let any letter go from hence without renewing Her Ma^tys directions for your promoting the making peace with the Malecontents in Hungary, and sending succours into Italy. I need not mention to you the great importance of enabling the Duke of Savoy to act offensively, and how much Spaine is concern'd in keeping up the Warr in Italy: I will not urge arguments, because the enclosed Memoriall from Count Briançon, the Savoy minister here, will abundantly supply that: I have by Her Ma^tys commands assured him that Her Ma^ty will press the sending his master succours with all possible earnestness: to that end I send the memoriall to you for you to do your part, as I know you are never wanting, and I send another copy to the Duke of Marlborough for his assistance: tho' I fear money and magazines are more wanting than men: is it possible to convey any from Bavaria thither (if that country has any left) as Mr. Hoffman proposes?

The other paper enclosed is from Mr. Schutz on behalfe of the Elector of Hanover. You know how much it is our concern to promote the Elector's interest, and Her Ma^ty would have you do all the good offices you can with all earnestness as you shall find proper occasions.

I have taken the opportunity of some expressions in your last letters, to let Mr. Hoffman know the respect you had for H. I. M. person, and the many occasions you take to show it. I hope he will have sence enough to let it be known for your advantage in his next letters. I am, etc. etc.,

Ro. Harley.

155.] De Tettau to Leibnitz.

Goltzen, Sept. 27th, 1704.

Sir,

I only received your note yesterday evening, in which you request to know whether Lieut.-General Schulenburg leaves the service of Saxony, or whether he will come on leave of absence to the fair at Leipzig. I have the honour to reply

that the said M. Schulenburg has for the last six months been demanding his dismissal of the King on very good grounds; but there is very little probability of his obtaining it, because there is not a general officer in the whole army upon whom the King can rely. You know the King of Poland, and consequently know that there is no Prince in the world who has more engaging manners to win hearts, so that I doubt very much M. Schulenburg's quitting him at a time when he is so necessary. The last letters which I have received from this gallant man are dated the 15th of this month; he expected to unite with the King on the 17th. This, Sir, is all I know about it. I am, Sir, etc. etc.,

D. DE TETTAU.

156.] E. LEWIS TO STEPNEY.

Whitehall, Oct. 17th, 1704.

Sir,

I am very much pleas'd that the more freedom I use in giving you my thoughts on your private affairs, the more agreable it is to you; and I hope I have not run so much into the extream as to choque you, or discourage you from any attempts for your advantage, when a conjuncture favours. I shall watch when the waters move, for without that, the Scripture tells us, it is to no purpose to goe in.

I am puzzled to think how Mr. Stanhope can be provided for, and much more what can be done with Sr Philip; he has no appetite for the Hague since he was there, and there is no appearance of getting anything more at home unless his Father is taken to Heaven and leaves him his Cloak, and the board of Trade would be a very good one. He is thought a man of sence, but keeps no company, and is very little known. His purchase of Knight Marshall has been to his prejudice, for most people think it sufficient provision for him.

Lord Dorset, after a thousand actions that plainly shew'd he had entirely lost his sences, has compleated all by marrying

Joany Roche. A young married gentlewoman that had lain with Lord Nothingham's Black, being near the time of her delivery, grew very apprehensive she shou'd produce a little Negro, and has therfore run away to avoid the scandal. I have yours of the 13th inst. and leave all Politicks till our Parliament sits. Adieu.

Tom Harley and George Greenville must be provided for before Sr Philip.

157.] SIR R. GWYNNE TO STEPNEY.

Hanover, Dec. 16th, 1704.

Sir,

I received the honour of your letter of the 13th of October from the D. of Marleboro's Camp at Crome Weissenburge, and am much oblieged to you for the favour you expressed yourself willing to shew to Mr. Cooke and Mr. Ball, if they had found you at Vienna; however they were very kindly treated in your absence by your family there, and this gives me encouragement to recomend to your favour Mr. Browne, who will deliver this to you. He is going to Venice.

I am sorry that your Treaty at Schemnitz had not better success, and we are tould, that there was no sincerity in the Emperor's Ministers: I must confesse I am inclin'd to believe it, since that, tho' the E. hath been delivered from the great dangers he was in, solely by the Protestants, yet he will not restore them to their indisputable rights and priviledges in the Empire: what then is to be expected for the Bohemians, Silesians, Hungarians, and Transilvanians, whom he looks uppon as his vassalls and slaves? I should be glad if you would doe me the favour to set these matters in a true light, and I doe assure you, that noe person shall know the least of it, but the Elector, nor will I comunicate what you write to his Highness unless you give me leave to do it.

The Duke of Marleborough did me the honour to write to me when he was in the Army, and I am sure that his Grace

hath done all the good he could, as well as to treatys, as in the matter of warr, which I am further assured of by his Grace, when he was here. He came hither on Munday was fortnight, and was treated with the greatest honour and kindness that could be shewed him. His grace went hence on Fryday was sennight, but did not arrive at the Hague till Fryday last, as I understand by a letter I received this day from Mr. Cardonnel, which his grace ordered him to write to me as soone as he came thither.

I believe he was very well pleased here, for they did every thing they could devise to shew their affection and respect, and his Grace tould me more than once, that he was extreamely well pleased here, and sorry that he could not stay longer at this Court.

The Parliament does act very well towards carrying on the war, and, God be thanked, the Queen's Administration does please the whole kingdome: I pray & hope that the like success of that of the last summer may allwayes attend her majestyes Councells and Armes. I am with the greatest truth and sincerity, Sir, your most obedient, most faithfull & most humble Servant,

ROWLAND GWYNNE.

158.] CAROLINE, PRINCESS OF ANSPACH, TO LEIBNITZ.

Anspach, ce 28 *Decemper* [1704].

J'ay receus votre lettre, Monsieur, avec la plus grande joys du monde, puisque par là je me vois toujours dans votre souvenir et amitié. Je vous suplie, Monsieur, de me la conserver comme à une personne qui en connoit le pri et qui ne souhait rien avec plus de passion que se monterer reconnoissan pour toute les bonté que vous mavez temoigné pantant mon cesjours a lutzelbourg. Vous me flatée fort agreablement, Monsieur, de m'assurere que la Reine et toute la Cour mont plain de ce que je n'ay peu profiter plus long-temps du bonheur de faire ma cour a notre incomparable Reine; je vous suplie, quand vous

trouverez L'occasion, d'assurer S. M. de mes tres profon respect. Je croit que le Roy d'Espange ne se mest plus en paine pour ma personne;* au contrer, l'on mora en horreur de ce que je n'ay pas voulu suisvre les bonnes instruction de Mr de Ste Marie. Je resois tout les poste des lettre de ce bon Cavallier; je croy que ses discours on beaucoup contripué a linquemodité que j'ay eu pandant 3 cemain don je me trouvez parfaitement retablie. Md L'Electrise me fait trop honneur de ce souvenir de moy; elle ne peut avoir vne plus tres humble servante qui luy est si parfaitement aquise que je la suis. Je pran beaucoup de part a la jois qu'elle aura de voire Mr le princes Roiyal a Hanover. Je suis infiniment obligée a Mr le duc Antoine Ullerich de ce qui me veut faire passer pour vne heroine dans son roman vous; verez quauec le temps lon me fera voir sur la sene avec Mr Ste Marie, ou je me defanterez en mervellyé. Je vous aurais bien de l'obligation sy vous voules prande la bene de faire bientot venir de france les instrumant de Madematique pour notre cher amis. Soigée persouadée, Monsieur, que je cerais toute ma vie votre servante,

CAROLINE WILHELMINE.

GENERAL CAVALIER AND THE RELIGIOUS WAR OF THE CEVENNES.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), the most unpardonable blunder of Louis XIV.'s long reign, was followed by an organized and unsparing persecution of the Protestants in France. As long as the resistance of the Reformed Church and the Princes who conformed to the Confession of Augsburg was capable of embarrassing the Emperor of Germany, and giving full occupa-

* The King of Spain is the Archduke, afterwards Emperor. He had offered his hand to the Princess Caroline; but she refused to become a Catholic, and the match was broken off.

tion to the Catholic Electors, the Court of France had not scrupled to support and encourage the Protestants of the Empire. The Peace of Westphalia had however at length put a term to the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, and both contending parties, worn out and ruined, had consented to a compromise, which was rather an evidence of their exhaustion than of their moderation or love of justice. But the aims of France had been gained; for years must now elapse before the Empire could again be in a condition to offer any effectual opposition to her policy of aggrandisement. England, under the miserable sway of the restored Stuarts, was become a cipher in Europe; Sweden, itself exhausted by the war of religion, was involved in all the difficulties of a domestic revolution, and crippled by the opposition offered to its plans of reunion;* Holland was isolated, and, standing unsupported, could not entertain any hope of long resisting its imperious neighbour. It seemed at last safe to break, in the most formal manner, with the *Huguenots;* but this act of a blind fanaticism was an error as well as a crime. It drove from their country tens of thousands of skilful artisans, of frugal and laborious citizens, of gentlemen inured to arms, or practised in the career of letters and politics. It weakened at once the French monarchy, and strengthened the enemies that were combined for its ruin. The Protestant States of Europe profited by the folly, which preferred the triumph of a dogma to the possession of so large and valuable a class of laborious, earnest, and, in general, loyal subjects. A trustworthy authority assures us that four hundred thousand Frenchmen left their native country, and the homes they had founded, to spread in other lands a civilization as yet un-

* See sketch of the life of J. R. Patkul.

known.* The number of English families which trace their descent from Huguenot refugees is very considerable, and among them are many who have occupied high and honourable positions in the land of their adoption. Holland, Louis XIV.'s most intolerable eyesore, not only gained by the influx of a numerous industrial population, but, as Mr. Macaulay has justly observed, was driven, by the persecution of the Protestants, to take part in that league which enabled William of Orange to crush the influence of France. Travellers remarked that, at this time, in Zell and Hanover French was spoken and written as purely as in Paris, and that a refinement hitherto unknown had begun to distinguish the intercourse of the Courts of Northern Europe. Latin was gradually ceasing to be the language of diplomacy. Berlin owes nearly its existence as a city to the French exiles who were invited to settle there; and whole districts of Prussia, which the Thirty Years' War had depopulated and ruined, became the homes of colonists whose knowledge and industry opened new channels of wealth and power. Frederick William, whose title of "The Great Elector" was in this most justly earned, was one of the first to offer an asylum in his States to men suffering for conscience' sake.† The result of his wise

* Mém. de Brandebourg.

† The Great Elector's Letters Patent, dated Potsdam, October 29th, 1685, are as follows:—"We, Frederick William, etc. etc. etc., make known to all men, etc., that whereas, through the too severe treatment with which, for some time past, our brethren of the Reformed Church in France have been afflicted, many French families have been compelled to emigrate and seek an abode in foreign lands, we, moved thereunto by the just commiseration which we are bound to give to those who suffer for the Gospel and the pure faith, which we in common with them do profess, have determined by this Edict, under our own hand, to offer unto all the said French a secure and free ingress to and egress

measures is thus described by his great-grandson :*—"A l'avénement de Frédéric-Guillaume à la régence, on ne faisait, dans ce pays, ni chapeaux, ni bas, ni serges, ni aucune étoffe de laine : l'industrie des Français nous enrichit de toutes ces manufactures ; ils établirent des fabriques de draps, de serges, d'étamines, de petites étoffes, de droguets, de [illegible]s, de crépon, de bonnets et de

from all the territories subject to our rule, and therewith to proclaim what rights, franchises, and advantages we will that they shall enjoy, whereby they may be rescued, and in some degree supported in that state of need in which it has pleased the providence of Almighty God to place them." Article 1 provides that free transport and provisions shall be supplied to such refugees as find their way into Holland, as far as Hamburg. 2. That all who prefer going by Frankfort or Cologne shall be forwarded down the Rhine to Cleves, etc., and supplied with money, passports, and ships ; the Elector's agents are to see to the execution of these details. 3. The refugees to be free to settle where they will, in villages or cities, and to exercise all handicrafts, commerce, etc., undisturbed. 4. All they bring with them, whatsoever it may be, to pass free from tax or toll. 5. Dwellings to be assigned them provisionally, rent-free ; building materials to be supplied them at the Elector's expense, and the houses they build to be free from taxes for the space of six years. 6. Those who choose to settle in cities to have building-ground and materials free of cost ; their houses to have a ten years' exemption from taxation ; to be lodged provisionally for four years at the Elector's charge. 7. To have all the rights of citizens and guildsmen as fully as born Prussians. 8. Their manufactures of cloth, hats, linen, and the like, to be privileged, and, if needful, loans to be advanced them for the first establishment of factories. 9. To select an arbiter from their own body, by whom all disputes between Frenchman and Frenchman may be settled. In disputes between a Frenchman and a Prussian, the said arbiter to have a concurrent jurisdiction with the German authorities. 10. The King to appoint and pay a chaplain and build a church for them in every district. 11. The refugee nobles to be employed in the civil and military service, on the same footing as the Prussian nobles. 12. Commissioners to be named to carry out the provisions of this decree.

* 'Des Mœurs et des Coutumes,' etc., Œuvres de Fréd. II., vol. i. p. 227. The King estimates the number of refugees that found an asylum in Brandenburg at about 20,000.—*Ibid.*, p. 226.

bas tissus sur des métiers, des chapeaux de castor, de lapin et de poil de lièvre, des teintures de toutes les espèces. Quelques-uns de ces réfugiés se firent marchands, et débitèrent en détail l'industrie des autres: Berlin eut des orfèvres, des bijoutiers, des horlogers, des sculpteurs; et les Français qui s'établirent dans le plat pays, y cultivèrent le tabac, et firent venir des fruits et des légumes excellents dans les contrées sablonneuses, qui, par leur soin, devinrent des potagers admirables. Le Grand Électeur, pour encourager une colonie aussi utile, lui assigna une pension annuelle de quarante mille écus, dont elle jouit encore."

Even Russia, hardly yet emerging from its state of barbarism, hastened, by the promise of complete religious toleration, to attract the services of men whose influence could be of so much worth in its struggle for material prosperity and European civilization.

An important ukase of Ivan and Peter Alexeievitch, dated January 21st, 1689, shows that the Elector of Brandenburg, not content with offering a refuge to the victims of fanaticism in his own territories, had secured for them a favourable reception in those of his powerful neighbour. It states that the Elector, having brought to the notice of their Majesties the sufferings to which the French Protestants are exposed, for the sake of their religion (many of which are particularly enumerated), and that multitudes of them, who had succeeded in leaving France, had established themselves, or desired to establish themselves, in other countries where they might enjoy religious toleration, their Majesties the Czars, at the instance of the said Elector and by the advice of the Boyars of their council, decree full liberty of ingress and egress and settlement for all such refugees as shall

desire to establish themselves in Russia, and promise employment to all who shall be willing to enter their Majesties' service, according to the rank, qualifications, and personal recommendations of the said refugees, etc. etc.* The refugees had thus indeed secured for themselves, though at heavy cost, a new country and the free exercise of their religion, and had incalculably benefited the States that had taken them under their protection; but even on this account the condition of the brethren who remained behind became daily more intolerable. Disquieted and alarmed by the successful evasion of the richer Huguenots, and irritated by the censure which all Europe heaped upon their master, the advisers of Louis had recourse to more stringent and more erroneous measures. From 1685 to 1689 there appeared a series of Declarations, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, any public exercise or recognition of the Reformed religion. The merciless instruments of a merciless policy proceeded to pull down the churches and shut up the schools of the Calvinists, to hunt down prayer-meetings, to execute in tortures men who remained steadfast to what they believed the cause of God, and to quarter troops, encouraged to more than the license of war, on those districts in which the doctrines of the Reformed Church prevailed. An ineffectual effort was indeed made, during the negotiations at Ryswick, in favour of

* The original of this ukase, in French, is found among the MSS. of the Royal Library in Hanover. It is intituled, "Copie du Passeport de leurs Czars-Majestés Jean Alexeiwitz et Pierre Alexeiwitz, Grands Ducs de Moscovie, en faveur des Réfugiés de France, accordée à la recommendation de la Sérénité Électorale de Brandebourg." This instrument is dated, "En notre grande ville de Moskow, l'an 7197 de la création du monde, le 21 Janv^r, et de nos regnes le 7." In the era adopted by the Russians, this answers to A.D. 1689.

the French Protestants; but Europe, tired of a war which drained the resources of every country, and governed for the most part by Princes whose personal feelings or private interests inclined them to the side of Louis, was willing to purchase peace on almost any terms, and relinquished the main object which had supplied so many States with an excuse for joining in the contest. William of Orange, deserted by the Duke of Savoy,—a desertion which cost his House the Crown of England,*—sullenly acquiesced in a decision which all his efforts were ineffectual to prevent; the cause of the Reformed Churches was sacrificed by a compromise, in the fourth Article of the famous Treaty (1697), and the French Protestants were left to console themselves as best they might, under the wheels and gibbets, the thumbscrews and faggots, of their *booted missionaries*—missionnaires bottés,—for such was the name given at the time to the Dragoons who were quartered in the houses of all such Protestants as refused an immediate and unconditional signature of the "Act of Apostasy." Against the proceedings of this brutal soldiery there was no appeal; their violence was not only connived at, but encouraged and stimulated by reward. For the Protes-

* Field-Marshal Count Schulenburg, in a letter to Leibnitz, dated Emden, 14th July, 1714, says:—"On me mande aussi que le Duc de Savoye s'avise de protester contre la succession d'Hannover en Angleterre, son fils étant le plus proche héritier, si le Prince de Galles doit être exclu. Je me souviens qu'il m'a dit plusieurs fois, que le Parlement lui avoit fait ouverture du penchant qu'il avoit pour sa ligne, et qu'il n'auroit, pour réussir, que d'envoyer son Prince chez eux, pour le faire élever dans la foi Anglicane. Le Sieur Hill a négocié quelques choses là-dessus pendant que j'étais à Turin." Leibnitz, the confidential friend and adviser of the Electress Sophia, has indorsed this passage with the following words: "Il l'a déjà fait, quand le Roy Guillaume fit faire le premier Acte pour la Succession. Le Roy y a été porté pour se venger du Duc, qui l'avoit abandonné un peu avant la Paix de Riswick."

tant there was no redress, no justice, and no law, save that by whose provisions he might with impunity be plundered, insulted, or tortured, at the caprice of irresponsible, brutal, and fanatical subordinates. But, though terror and dismay were thus spread throughout almost all the provinces of France, in no part of the country was the opposition to the Roman Catholic dogmas more active, or the exasperation of the people more general, than in the Cevennes. This district (by Latin authors called Cebenna and Mons Cemnenus) is a portion of the province of Languedoc, bounded on the south by Le Bas Languedoc, on the west by Le Rovergue, on the north by Auvergne and Le Forez, and on the east by the Rhône, which divides it from Dauphiné. It derives its name from the mountains, which run about thirty leagues in a direction from north-east to south-west, commencing near the springs of the Loire, and ending on the borders of Le Rovergue and Le Haut Languedoc, towards the town of Lodève. The mountains of the Cevennes, though here and there barren and inhospitable, are in general well cultivated and populous. Like many other inhabitants of wild and solitary mountain ranges, the Cevenoles were given to a dreamy enthusiasm, which, when it finds its object in religious contemplation, is apt to degenerate into fanaticism. From the very early period of the Albigenses, some traditions of resistance to the Papacy had remained among the excitable but earnest and simple inhabitants of these districts; and it is probable that, in later times, the doctrines of the Waldenses had not been without influence upon the form of their religious belief. The Reformation had met easy access and welcome among them; they held a doctrine, indeed, not absolutely consonant to that

of Calvin or Lefèvre, but much nearer allied to this than to the somewhat compromising views of Luther; at all events such as both to enrage and alarm the priests and prelates of the dominant faith, as may be seen by any one who will take the trouble to consult the 'Mandemens et Lettres Pastorales' of Flechier, Bishop of Nismes, published at Paris in 1712.

History, which long suffered itself to be blinded by the glare of Louis XIV.'s glory, has now begun to see a little more clearly through the haze, and to form somewhat surer conclusions, as to the facts and motive influences of his time. We are now able to place this main figure of the picture in the proper light,—to form a better judgement of the part the great actor played in the tragicomedy of his day. The correspondence which here and there has gradually been brought to light, enables us to form a juster estimate of the seductions by which he was driven into his incomparable persecution of what he and his interested advisers called Heresy and Rebellion. Weak, but sincere, Louis XIV. easily allowed himself to be cajoled into the belief that the irregularities of his life might in some way be compensated by the strictness of his orthodoxy; if he was not a good Christian, he was at all events determined upon being a good Catholic. Imperious, and long accustomed to see everything yield to his will, he was easily persuaded that to differ from his belief was an insult to his majesty, and an attack upon his authority. Was it not well known that in a neighbouring country Protestantism was shaking the foundations of an allied and dependent throne? that, in a preceding generation, it had sent an anointed monarch to the scaffold? His total ignorance in matters of religion made him the ready prey of those whose in-

terest it was to turn his weakness to account, and his vanity converted him into their ruthless tool. The proud, impatient nobility, which had defied his forefathers, had been crushed by the iron hand of Richelieu and the cunning of Mazarin: the stern Protestantism which, gradually deserted and betrayed by the nobles, had yet found a refuge among some of the Seigneurs of the Campagnes and in the great mass of the *bourgeoisie* in the towns, was all that remained for him to subjugate. During the Fronde, the Protestants had indeed extorted from the Minister concessions which secured them toleration on easy conditions; but the wily Italian, in the very act of signing the treaties, had remarked that promises might be broken, and that this should be so as soon as the occasion served. In Louis's eyes the time was now come for the realization of this faithless policy, and he panted for the glory of bringing to a successful termination the task which had proved too much for the power of all his predecessors. In August, 1684, Madame de Maintenon could write to the Countess de Saint-Geran, "The King is ready to do everything which may be thought most conducive to the good of the Catholic religion. This enterprise will cover him with glory in the eyes both of God and man. He will have made all his subjects return into the bosom of the Church, and he will have destroyed Heresy, which all his predecessors were never able to subdue."* The whole tenour of Louis XIV.'s life proves that he was not naturally cruel; and could he have foreseen the misery his measures must inflict upon his subjects, and the ruin they assuredly would bring upon his realm, he might have listened to gentler advisers than Louvois or Le Tellier. Had he even known what

* Lettres de M. de M., Paris, 1806, vol. ii, p. 151.

atrocities were committed by his authority, in the name of religion, he might have interposed to check them; but he had been persuaded that the heretics would yield without a murmur to his will. Louvois and Père La Chaise had made him believe that not a drop of blood would be shed, in a struggle which was not brought to a close till it had cost the lives of tens of thousands in the field, and thousands on the scaffold.* Nor was he even permitted to know the whole of what was done. Speaking of the troubles in the Cevennes, M. de Maintenon could write: "The troubles in the Cevennes are of no moment; they are a parcel of Huguenot mountaineers, whom it will be an easy matter to reduce. It is useless to trouble the King with the circumstances of this revolt; it would not cure the evil, and it would give him a great deal of pain."† A system of deception and mystification was pursued with the poor unconscious monarch. He was flattered with the sight of long lists of converts,—by innumerable signatures of men, women, and children who had returned to the true fold; but he was not told by what seductions on the one hand, by what cruelty and violence on the other, their apostasy had been obtained. In the neighbourhood of his own Court, and within the sphere of his own observation, the work of conversion was carried on with mildness. Adroit appeals to vanity or self-interest, and unwearied persuasion under all pretexts, were there the main engines put in motion; but in the provinces the mask was entirely

* *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 153. "Le roi est fort content d'avoir mis la dernière main au grand ouvrage de la réunion des hérétiques à l'Église. Le P. de la Chaise a promis qu'il n'en coûteroit pas une goutte de sang; et M. de Louvois dit la même chose."—Oct. 25, 1685.

† To M. de S.-Geran, 18th July, 1708 (? 1703).—*Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 197. The date is obviously erroneous.

thrown off; in proportion to the distance and obscurity of the districts was the increase of severity in the clergy, the provincial intendants, and the military commanders. In the Cevennes, a country little known and far removed from observation, the wishes of the Court had been enforced with ruthless cruelty. Even before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes persecution had been actively employed, and not without success. A large proportion of the seigneurs, the principal burghers in the towns, and even of the wealthier inhabitants of the plains of Rovergue and Languedoc, had given at least an apparent adhesion to the Catholic doctrines, forced upon them by every means which inventive chicane and unrepressed violence could devise. In some parts of the country the number of the new converts exceeded that of the Old Catholics. It is true that the conversion was in most cases merely superficial: convenience, not conviction, had dictated it, and the tree bore produce consonant to the nature of its root. The new converts, content to purchase quiet by signing what was laid before them, continued to hold their own opinions, and even occasionally to attend the rites of their own worship. The more zealous of their brethren might doubt the lawfulness of thus tampering with the mammon of iniquity, or breathe a sigh in secret over the weakness of the flesh; but as long as an outward conformity satisfied the ministers of the Royal will, a large majority of the Protestants were contented with a compromise which at least rescued themselves and their families from insult and ruin. They were no longer excluded from municipal offices, in which they might serve their neighbours, and indirectly even their more steadfast brethren; they could carry on undisturbed the commerce or the industry by which the

land was enriched and civilized; and many a one thought these advantages worth what Henri IV. had thought Paris worth,—an attendance at mass,—especially as his faith in private might remain just as it previously had been. In public affairs, and especially those where religious belief is the origin of contention, neglect may sometimes be effective, persecution is rarely so. This truth seems to have escaped the Ministers of Louis, and their country reaped the bitter fruits of their error. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was determined on, and with it came a frightful change in that condition of affairs which we have attempted to describe. The churches of the Protestants, or, in the phrase of the time, *les Temples*, which in some parts of the country had equalled those of the Catholics in number, and often exceeded them in size and splendour, were reduced to ruins. The ministers of the Reformed religion were tracked and hunted down, were thrown into loathsome dungeons, or compelled to seek safety in a miserable exile from all that they held dear on earth. Many fled to Switzerland or Savoy; some even sought refuge in Holland, among a people that had not their laws and manner of life nor spoke their tongue. Those whom a burning zeal brought back again to console and guide their scattered and distracted flocks, returned to almost certain death; when detected, they were either burnt alive, or, having all their limbs broken upon a wheel, were left to expire in lingering torments. Happy were a few whom a governor, less merciless than his colleagues, consigned at once to the gibbet, without previous torture. Yet were the Protestants not wholly disheartened, but exposed themselves to chains and death rather than relinquish the practices of their persecuted faith. Those who ventured to attend

the prayer-meetings and conventicles held in forests, caverns, or secret places among the hills, were tracked and sabred by dragoons, or fell, praising God, old and young, men, women, and children, beneath the regular volleys of the Royal soldiery. The survivors of these massacres, if any such there were, were usually hanged upon the spot: the utmost mercy shown them was condemnation to the galleys for life! But measures like these, of which the clergy themselves were in general the executors, produced their natural result: fanaticism on the one side called forth fanaticism on the other. The pastors,—excited by a life of continual danger, accustomed to apply to themselves and their condition the mysterious denunciations of prophecy, to see in themselves the successors of those heroes of the old law, who skulked in the wilderness till the hour when they could triumphantly confound Baal on Carmel, and slay his prophets at the brook Kishon,—began to believe themselves equally gifted with the immediate spirit of God. Nor was it long before this enthusiastic error communicated itself to their flocks. Multitudes* began to feel themselves under the same mysterious influence; old men and women, children

* The *Prophets* administered the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. On one occasion the Priest of St. Pierreville sent some of them to prison. The rest immediately wrote to him to demand the liberation of their brethren, failing which, they, "*eight thousand* in number, would pray for a miracle from the Lord."—Hofmann, Aufruhr in den Sevennen, p. 38. In a single month, viz. November, 1701, above two hundred prophets were seized in the Cevennes and condemned to the galleys, to military service, or to imprisonment for life. A woman was executed in the Vivarais for giving as proof of her extraordinary Divine mission, that blood flowed from her eyes and nose, which she called weeping of blood. The number of the inspired in Languedoc, in 1702, was computed to exceed eight thousand; it was perhaps exaggerated, but still must have been very alarming. See Hofmann, p. 40, L'Ouvreleil, Gebelin, and 'Theatrum Europæum,' xvi. 351.

of both sexes, but chiefly females*—nay even strong men, were seen to fall down in the midst of their conventicles in convulsions, and with violent contortions of the face and limbs. When their incoherent moanings took the form of words, these were listened to with pious horror, and treasured as the oracles of God; not the less readily, because the only intelligible form in which these poor and ignorant people could express themselves was, in nearly all cases, quotations from the Scriptures, in which, as is usual, the denunciations of the Scripture of Wrath were much more frequent than the consolations of the Scripture of Mercy. There was plenty of curse on Ebal, but very little blessing on Gerizim!

It is a matter now of common observation, that this condition of body and mind, when indulged in, becomes more or less a self-conscious one, and subject to the will of the patient: it is here that the boundary-line falls between fanaticism and imposture, which renders it so difficult to form a just judgement of more than one prominent character in history. This was eminently the case with the leaders of the Cevenoles. In the course of the deadly struggle in which these mountaineers engaged, every band became at last supplied with one or more prophets, who appear to have possessed the power of placing themselves in the inspired state, whenever the occasion required its manifestation. Some imposture was inevitable; but it would evince little knowledge of human nature, or of the history of fanatics in all ages, were we to set down all to such a cause, or even to doubt that many of the impostors had a share of faith, as well

* One girl confessed in her interrogatory that she had formerly had manifestations of the Spirit, but had lost them from the moment when she yielded to the influence of another sex.

as many of the enthusiasts a share of self-delusion. Be it as it may, we know that these prophets were implicitly obeyed; that in many cases their accurate information as to the movements of their enemies, and their perfect familiarity with the advantages of their localities, enabled them to direct operations, and predict the successes which followed, perhaps as a consequence of the predictions themselves. They had even succeeded in persuading their comrades that they were secure against steel and ball, and had expressly taught that no earthly arms could injure the chosen of the Lord,—a superstition so deeply rooted in the minds of these poor people, that even the sight of their brethren lying dead and wounded on the field of battle does not appear to have shaken it. Such was the excited condition of feeling in the Cevennes in the first years of the eighteenth century. It is evident that on the first favourable occasion the smothered elements of discontent would burst into a flame. This occasion was soon furnished by the diabolical violence of a prelate of the dominant church,—François de Langlade du Chaila, Archpriest of the Cevennes and chief of the Missions in the Gevaudan. Born of a noble and warlike house, he had impatiently endured the discipline of the Church to which his service was decreed. The seminary had sent him into the world full of bitter zeal and prejudice, bigoted, and ruthless in his bigotry. The first object of his missionary activity were the heathen barbarians of Siam; after years spent in exile and in suffering, he returned to his native country, and was immediately despatched to signalize himself by combating Protestantism in the south of France. But the heathen of Siam were not such enemies of the Church as the Reformers of the Cevennes; nor was the missionary

there so indisputably master as the Archpriest here. His well-known savage and uncompromising spirit it was that induced the Intendant Baville to demand his appointment to a district where heresy was to be extirpated. This took place in 1687, and for fifteen years, from the fortieth to the fifty-fifth year of his life, he continued to be the scourge of the provinces committed to his charge. Humanity shudders at the relation of the inventive cruelties which this demon in the shape of man exercised on the unfortunates who fell into his power; decency itself forbids their narration here; their details must be sought in the works on both sides the question, in which they are only too faithfully narrated, though in a different spirit of praise and blame. Hofmann, the latest historian of this religious war, a tolerably impartial and accurate author, thus describes Du Chaila:—"He was to be seen at the head of the troops when they set out upon conventicle-hunting. Those whom they captured he imprisoned in his own house, and tortured, in order to discover the hiding-places of their preachers, or their brethren in the faith who had escaped his perquisitions. He tore out the hair of their beards and eyebrows with pincers, pressed glowing charcoal into their closed hands, or wrapped their fingers in tow, steeped in oil or grease, by which, when set on fire, the flesh was consumed to the bones. If these torments failed of their effect, he enclosed the feet of his victims in split logs of wood, so that they could neither sit nor stand. He went from parish to parish, from house to house, and wherever he noticed any breach of the observances of the Church, he fined, and flogged, and tortured. One girl, who had broken a fast-day, was placed by his order in a whirligig, and turned round until she lost her senses. A widow-

woman was suspected of having concealed one of the preachers; he interrogated her two young children, the eldest of whom was only seven years of age. On their persisting in denial, he burst into such a fury that he flogged the younger child till the blood flowed, and, after many torments, emasculated the elder, who died in agony a few hours later. A young girl had reproached certain of the new converts as they went to attend the communion in the Catholic church, and in her zeal had called the consecrated wafer the 'Morsel of the Basilisk:' on his demand she was executed at Pont de Monvert, January 25, 1702."*

Six months later, on the same spot, Du Chaila received his reward. He had taken a number of Protestant prisoners to his house, with the avowed intention of executing them; their friends suddenly formed the generous determination of venturing everything for their rescue. The 'Histoire des Camisards,' which has an evident leaning to the romantic, attributes this daring resolution to the despair of a young peasant, whose bride was among the prisoners; this is probably a fable, and is not confirmed by any other trustworthy authority. Be it as it may, the excited peasantry, armed as they best could contrive on the spur of the moment, beleaguered the persecutor in his half-fortified château; a rude battering-ram, formed out of the trunk of a tree, was brought to bear against the door, which finally yielded to the blows. The sight of their companions, in various situations of torture, raised the excitement of the invaders to madness; the house was set on fire in several places, and the Abbé, captured in the attempt to escape from the burning ruins, was barbarously murdered on the

* Hofmann, p. 51.

spot (July 26th, 1702). Most of the male inmates of his house, who had defended themselves with fire-arms, shared his fate. The perpetrators of this outrage, well aware that there would be no mercy shown them, immediately dispersed and took to the hills, where they were incessantly pursued by the soldiery of the Intendant. Many were gradually captured, and all who fell into the hands of the authorities were burnt or broken alive upon the wheel; but the example had been given, and it speedily proved contagious. The prophesyings, which had somewhat relaxed, forthwith revived with redoubled vigour.

The rapidity with which their influence spread is only surprising when one forgets that a long series of persecutions must call forth an almost unanimous determination to resist. There was not a peasant in the Cevennes whose household had not been outraged, some of whose kinsmen had not been cruelly put to death, or now wandered as outlaws in the hills. The missionary soldier, skulking from hut to hut, found recruits enough in every village, whom revenge, or the somewhat nobler passion of religious fanaticism, enlisted under his flag. By degrees the opposition began to assume a more systematic form; a number of organized bands soon appeared in various directions, especially in the mountain districts, which offered peculiar facilities for guerilla warfare; at the head of each of these stood one or more leaders, who, accompanied by their prophets, or themselves fulfilling the prophetic function, led their ill-armed but embittered troops to retaliate on both the Old and New Catholics the horrors and indignities which they themselves had suffered. It was now that Catholic churches were surrounded and set on fire during the celebration of Divine service, and

the congregations sabred back into the flames; that farm-houses were invested in the dead of night, and the inmates shot down in attempting to escape. The lesson of retaliation had only been too faithfully learnt; only the *Camisards*,—so the insurgents were named, we know not why,*—were comparatively merciful in their work of vengeance. Wheels, gibbets, and faggots they had none; powder and ball were the lot of such of their persecutors as fell alive into their hands, but such were few; quarter was neither asked nor given on either side; and the Camisard, when so surrounded that even his knowledge of the country or his cunning could not save him, or so severely wounded that escape was impossible, preferred a speedy death on the field at the hands of his friends and comrades, to lingering torments at those of his enemies. Yet with such heroic firmness were these in general supported, that even zealous Catholics entreated that they might be discontinued, the constancy of the sufferers more edifying, than their punishment deterring, the bystanders. It is reported that Baville himself once said to a Colonel, who was one of his active instruments in hunting out the Camisards, "If the God these people serve be the same God that we pray to, it will go hard with us, one day!" But it had been decreed at Paris that the Cevennes were to be converted, and Baville, a scion of the House of Lamoignon, was a courtier!

It is time that we should turn our attention to the

* The word has been derived from the Provençal *camisa*, a chemise, and upon this hypothesis denotes blouse or shirt-men, it being surmised that the insurgents disguised themselves by wearing shirts over their ordinary dress. It seems however with more reason to be referred to *camis*, a road or way, and would then denote either the wayfarers or highwaymen.

persons who played the principal parts in this bloody drama, as leaders of the insurgents. These were La Porte; Roland, a discharged dragoon; Castanet, a forester; Nicolas Joany, a discharged quartermaster; Jacob Conderc, better known under the name of La Fleur, or, as some write, La Fleurette; Salomo Conderc, Esperendieu, Rustalet, Ravanel, and lastly Morel, commonly called Catinat, from having served under the Marshal of that name. Many of these persons are said to have been men of blemished character, and the occupations of their earlier lives render this not altogether improbable; but this furnishes by no means a sufficient reason for doubting the earnestness of the feeling that at this time induced them to affront all the perils of an undertaking which, if not entirely hopeless, was at least fraught with extreme and obvious danger. We can even imagine that the sense of earlier sins may have tended to increase the fanatical devotion of these enthusiasts, even as many an Ironside and many a Covenanter (to the latter of whom the Camisards bear an unmistakable resemblance) may have smarted under reminiscences which he was prepared to wash out in the blood of himself or others shed for the good cause. It is an undeniable fact that several of the leaders who were included in the amnesty extorted from Marshal Villars, and had left France in safety, did at a later period return to the Cevennes, where they nearly without exception perished with the stern constancy of martyrs. They have a right to claim from us a more impartial—and it must be a more favourable—judgement than could be passed upon them by their contemporaries.

However this may be, it is obvious that the knowledge which they had gained in regular service rendered them

eminently capable of acting as partisan or guerilla leaders in a country admirably adapted to that description of warfare. Among them all Roland, a man of adventurous—we may even say chivalrous—gallantry, from first to last maintained a sort of supremacy. This however he was obliged to share with a young and ardent lad, named Cavalier, whose surprising vicissitudes of fortune, both at this period in his own country, and later in foreign military service, render him incomparably the most interesting hero of the Cevennese insurrection. He was the son of a peasant of the poorer class, in the village of Ribaute, and as a boy had been employed in the tending sheep or swine; but either disliking this mode of life, or fearing the consequences of the increased severity exerted against the Protestants, he left his country and took refuge at Geneva, where he apprenticed himself to a master-baker, and learnt his trade. It may well be supposed that this feature in his early life was not forgotten by his enemies when he appeared upon a more imposing scene.* In this quiet retreat he continued for some years, until the news of the rising in the Cevennes excited his imagination, and perhaps inflamed his ambition. He felt himself irresistibly impelled to share the dangers and the glory of his old companions and acquaintances. He secretly left Geneva, and returned to his native valley, where, although but twenty years old, he soon found himself at the head of a small but determined band, and speedily distinguished himself by his

* The 'Memoirs of Madame Du Noyer,' published at Cologne in 1710, contain a series of violent libels against Cavalier, with which nearly the whole fourth volume is filled. The stories of his misadventures as a baker are related with a malice quite worthy of that disreputable woman: vol. iv. p. 221.

daring and successful operations. By degrees several other small bodies united with his troop, their older and more experienced leaders cheerfully submitting to the almost despotic command of the boy, who had shown skill to conceive and talent to execute the most adventurous enterprises. Cavalier, with some vices and many weaknesses, appears to have been born with qualities which would have made him a great and successful soldier, had a wider field been opened for the development of his abilities. He possessed the art of inspiring the most unlimited confidence in his resources; he, a mere boy, prevailed to introduce the strictest discipline over his comrades, and an obedience so complete that they consented to place the power of life and death over themselves in his hands,—a power which he has been accused of exercising for unworthy ends.* Subtle, daring, and persevering, impassible to cold, to hunger, or to fear, hardly needing rest, ready to expose his person to the utmost danger, and perfect master of himself and of all others when in it, as daring in conception as he was cool in execution, full of confidence in his own resources, and thoroughly familiar with the methods of mountain warfare, Cavalier was the most formidable enemy whom the royal troops could encounter. He knew how to avoid them when outnumbered, when and where to attack them with advantage: his bitterest enemies have not denied that his plans were mostly crowned with success; and when we consider his personal qualities, the accurate information which he could always command, and the advantages of his position, we are the less surprised that two Marshals of France and an army of more than twenty thousand men were required

* See Mém. de Madame Du Noyer, vol. iv. p. 229, *seq.*

to bring him to submission. The handful of Cevennese Huguenots, whom it would be easy to force into submission, who would surrender their religion without the loss of a single man or the shedding of a drop of blood, had in Cavalier's hands become a gangrene eating into the very heart's core of the country. The danger of the revolt was indeed pressing. Not only had it become necessary to withdraw veteran troops, together with their approved Generals, from the seats of a war whose results were already shaking France to its centre, but the possession of the Cevennes by a hostile population might lay the south-eastern coast open to the invasion of the maritime powers and the intrigues of the House of Savoy. And it is certain that England, Holland, and Savoy, did correspond with the insurgents, and entertain their resistance by the promise of material assistance both in troops and money.* The expected succours, it is true, either miscarried on the coast, or it was found impossible to convey them into the interior of the country, and the Cevennese were thus left to their own resources. These however were by no means inconsiderable. The numbers of the insurgents indeed were never great; perhaps under all the chiefs together the muster-roll never much exceeded four thousand men, and of these only a small proportion were well armed and duly mounted. But their knowledge of the country was their inexpugnable advantage. The woods were their fortresses; caves, skilfully selected and known only to themselves, were their magazines and hospitals; they had no military

* Burnet, O. T. ii. 329, 356, 392. "La Hollande et M. de Savoie les soutenaient par des armes, de l'argent et quelques hommes, et Genève par des prédicans."—Mém. de Saint-Simon, vol. iv. p. 153. See also the Marlborough Despatches.

chest to convoy; they wanted no money, for they did not serve for pay, and their co-religionists found the means to supply the food and ammunition they required. A few Jews, spies on both sides, were shot in the course of their profitable but dangerous traffic. The whole peasantry, exasperated by the destruction of the farms and villages, were their ready sentinels and videttes. They appeared on the points where they were the least expected, or on several points at once; the infantry that had burnt one Catholic village appeared, in an incredibly short interval of time, as cavalry at another, which they burnt with equal zest. No sooner were the troops in movement in one direction than the Camisards dispersed through paths known only to themselves, and succeeded in concentrating themselves in the rear or on the flank; or, lying in ambush in the ravines and forests, suddenly fell upon and annihilated the detached parties of the Royal army. The most successful operations of Mina or Zumalacarregui do not appear to have been conducted with greater skill and courage than those of the Cevennese leaders, whose very names would be mostly unknown to us were they not found in the terrible registers of the galleys and the scaffold. The first superior officer who commanded against the insurgents was the Marshal de Montrevel. He had in vain attempted to subdue a resistance so harassing and dispiriting to his troops, by wholesale violence and cruelty. Executions were multiplied in Nismes and Montpellier, and a great expedition against the country districts was organized; the soldiers were provided with pickaxes and crowbars, and by means of these every village and every isolated house was systematically torn down, because the inhabitants were, not unjustly, suspected of correspondence with the insur-

gents. At length this method itself was found too dilatory, and the slow operations of those instruments was replaced by that of *fire*; four hundred and sixty-six villages, with a population of eighteen thousand souls, are named, which vanished in this manner from the face of the earth. Yet even these truly infernal measures proved fruitless; not only did they fail in subduing the resolute spirit of resistance, but, as might have been expected, they tended materially to strengthen the hands of the Cevennese chiefs. Indeed it is difficult to say what a whole population, thus driven from house and home, should do, except join those who were capable of avenging them upon their common enemy. And in another respect a great error had been committed; the very men to whom the execution of these frightful *razzias* was entrusted begun to murmur. The soldier was heartily tired of a service in which neither honour nor booty was to be won, and whose dangers greatly surpassed those of regular and civilized warfare. The balance of success and failure was very decidedly in favour of the mountaineers. Many a man, otherwise brave and steady in the field, shrank from the terrors of a conflict with a foe as wily as the red savage of America; many a man, we will hope, for the honour of humanity, loathed a service less distinguished by brilliant feats of arms than tarnished by cruelties, which would have disgraced those very savages themselves. In short, the army, harassed with never-ending yet fruitless marches and countermarches, and incessantly wearied with the pursuit of an enemy who could rarely be caught, and still more rarely was caught but when and where he chose to be so, became totally disorganized; all discipline was at an end, and a mutiny, whose consequences are incalculable, would

probably have closed the Cevennese war, had not the French Court proceeded to adopt a different system. Montrevel is described by Saint-Simon as a man of high birth, but no merit whatever;* he had been unlucky also, which was the worst of all demerits: accordingly he was replaced by Marshal Villars, of whom perhaps the very contrary may with justice be said. But the recalled Marshal was determined not to leave the scene to his rival without a struggle; he succeeded in enticing the Camisards, now grown over-confident in their own strength, into two pitched battles, in the latter of which, where he commanded in person, he inflicted a serious defeat upon them. Satisfied with having thus secured himself against impertinent observations, he retired to his government of Guyenne, and treated the affair of the Cevennes,—it was called at that time in the fashionable world "l'affaire des fanatiques,"—in which he had himself met with little but discomfiture and failure, with the proper and courtly measure of contempt.

Marshal Villars, a favourite of Madame de Maintenon, and consequently of her *protégé* Chamillard, was a man of the world. He had just returned from a campaign, where, without performing any great action, he had succeeded in persuading the French Court of his own high services, and, what was much more to his taste, in amassing a considerable fortune at the expense of his master's ally, the Elector of Bavaria. The obscure service on which he was now sent could hardly be a compliment to the man who had commanded against Marlborough and Eugene; it might however, if successfully performed, be of higher value than victories gained over even those Generals, in the eyes of Louis. On his appointment to

* Mém., vol. iv. p. 305.

the command in the Cevennes, he had insulted Montrevel by a sarcasm, and Montrevel had spoilt his joke by overthrowing the Camisards in open field before his arrival. It was clear therefore that he must bring the matter to a speedy close, and he addressed himself to his task with much judgement and undeniable vigour. The self-confidence of the insurgents was a little shaken by their last disaster: Villars was not disposed to revive it. He judged that enthusiasm had by that time pretty nearly worn itself out, and he was determined that cruelty should not supply it with further nourishment. The executions which had turned Montpellier into a shambles were discontinued; probably few suffered during the command of Villars who had not deserved their fate, by crimes which, under any reasonable system of government, would have called for retribution. At the same time, the military expeditions were combined and pushed with greater vigour, and with increased success. The progress attained through this alteration was so apparent that the Camisards gradually lost heart; the faith, as is usual, was either entirely gone, or so much diminished as no longer to be a reliable support to their cause. They had begun to count upon other resources than their own; but the allies to whom they looked for succour were in no condition to afford it; they were told that, "under existing circumstances," nothing could be done for them, and were advised to make the best terms they could for themselves with the French Marshal.

Cavalier now determined to give up the resistance which he had so long conducted with vigour and success. He entered into negotiations with Villars, and a meeting was finally arranged between them to take place at Nismes. The Marshal received his antagonist with ho-

nour, but not without the expression of surprise that a boy of twenty-four should so long have been enabled to bid defiance to the armies and officers of the King, and succeeded in maintaining a power of life and death over his rude and excitable followers.* French authors have exulted in the discovery that Cavalier rendered himself ridiculous by his vanity at this interview: they insist upon the absurdity of his stipulating that he should be escorted by as many guards as the Marshal; upon the pains bestowed by him upon his dress, and his affectation of the manners of a fine gentleman. Mary-Lafon, the latest historian of the South of France,† in a very interesting and well-written chapter devoted to the war in the Cevennes, thus expresses himself upon the subject:—"In the presence of these gentlemen" (*i. e.* Villars and the Brigadier Lalande) "the inspired prophet of the mountains had vanished away: to the ardour of his savage enthusiasm had unhappily succeeded the ridiculous idea of his own importance. The peasant started again to light, with all his inborn want of tact, his inferiority of mind, and his credulous self-conceit, which appeared only the more awkward under the dress of coffee-coloured cloth, the muslin cravat, and the plumed hat. That which busied him the most during the conference which he had with the Marshal in the garden of the Récollets, was to display a fine emerald which he wore upon his finger, a gold watch at which he looked every minute on pretext of ascertaining the time, and a rich snuff-box—spoils of the officers killed at Martiniargues. His head had been so turned by feeling the Marshal's hand upon his shoulder, and hearing Lalande, the butcher of the wounded

* Mém. du M. de Villars, vol. ii. p. 149.

† Histoire du Midi de la France, 1845, vol. iv. p. 260.

Camisards in the cave of Euzet, call him 'Seigneur Cavalier,' that he accepted every proposal made to him, and sold his brethren for a colonel's commission." This is by no means a fair statement, nor are many other reproaches, which have been heaped upon the Cevennese leader on this occasion, just. It seems proper, and it is usual for commanders treating on equal terms, to insist upon equal rights and prerogatives: nor can Cavalier be blamed for surrounding himself with a sufficient force to defend him if treacherously attacked: the good faith of the royal officers had not been so conspicuous as to justify the neglect of all precautions against a surprise which might easily have consigned him to the gibbet. That he dressed himself like a gentleman when about to appear among gentlemen, does not seem to deserve any particular blame. But most unjust is it when M. Mary-Lafon accuses Cavalier of selling his brethren for a colonelcy. The *exact* demands made by him are not known: those stated to have been made, in the 'Histoire des Camisards,' are probably somewhat exaggerated, although they are corroborated in the main by certain details contained in an unpublished letter of Cavalier, to which these pages are an introduction. According to this account, he required: Free exercise of their religion for the Protestants, or free egress from France, with all their possessions. Freedom of return for those who had emigrated on account of their religion. A complete amnesty for all the Camisards, and the release of all Protestants who had been condemned to the galleys or to imprisonment, for religion's sake, since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Permission for himself to raise and command a regiment of Protestants in the King's service: he undertook that this force should rise to three thou-

sand men, and stipulated that a Protestant chaplain should be attached to it. And lastly, as a guarantee for the fulfilment of these conditions, he required that two fortified towns of the province should be placed in his hands. On these terms he undertook that the revolters should lay down their arms and submit to the royal authority. A part only of these conditions were accepted. To himself and Roland colonels' commissions were offered, and a pension of 1200 livres a year was assigned him. A full amnesty was granted: the toleration of religion and the release of the Protestant galley-slaves were promised in ambiguous terms, and remained a promise never fulfilled, nor meant to be fulfilled. Free egress from the country, with all their goods and chattels, was accorded to such as chose to emigrate. The districts which had been devastated by the Royal troops were to be indemnified by a considerable alleviation of the public burdens. But the demand of the hostage-towns, as might have been known by a better negotiator, was peremptorily rejected. We are quite ready to admit that in this convention the courtier had the advantage of the peasant: the gain was in truth all on his side. For the Camisards little of real importance had been secured, beyond honourable employment for their two most distinguished chiefs. The security of the Protestant faith, for which many had taken up arms, was lost sight of, or provided for by vague promises, which it was not intended to keep, and for whose fulfilment there was no material guarantee; a barren amnesty was indeed accorded, but only on condition of emigration. On the other hand, the Marshal set a veteran army free for the service of his master, at a time when he never had more need of its aid; he saw himself at once relieved, and with *éclat*, from a command where

little honour was to be gained, and much annoyance to be suffered; he cleared the Cevennes of all the leaders of a hostile population, upon whose co-operation the allied powers counted for the means of attacking the French monarchy from the side of Savoy and the Mediterranean; and he secured for Louis three or four thousand useful soldiers, and two enterprising and experienced officers. Every advantage was therefore on his side: he had completely out-diplomatized Cavalier, whose inexperience and vanity had led him into the snare. But in the whole transaction I can see no reason to accuse Cavalier of treachery, or to believe that anything less venial than inexperience and want of caution is to be laid to his charge. I should have been more surprised at his outwitting Villars, than I am at his falling into a trap set by one of the most astute politicians of the time. Cavalier *was* a peasant, probably a very noble and generous one, who on one field held his own gallantly. But he is not the first whom diplomacy has circumvented, or who has furnished evidence that a man may be converted by circumstances into a dangerous partisan, without learning to cope with consummate negotiators.

But the whole transaction was destined to be a nullity: in fact both parties had reckoned without their host. The Cevenoles had not been consulted in the matter, and were by no means disposed to ratify the bargain which had been made in their name. On the terms of the convention becoming known, Cavalier was received with execrations by his old comrades and brothers in arms; Roland at first would not see or speak to him, and the leaders remained to the last hour of Roland's life unreconciled. Some bands whom he harangued, and attempted to persuade, not only refused to follow him, but actually fired

upon him." Even his own particular troops deserted him and drew off under the command of his Lieutenant, Ravanel, shouting "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" It is stated that, in their indignation, pistols and carbines were aimed at him, and that his life was with difficulty saved by the intervention of Moses, the prophet of the band. So totally had Cavalier miscalculated his power, so ill had he appreciated the sources of his influence! Instead of bringing three thousand men to the service of France, he was glad to take refuge with Villars at the head of some fifty horse. The Marshal received him with courtesy, but immediately sent him to Mâcon, in Burgundy, where he was detained in a sort of honourable custody, and under constant surveillance. The defection of their leader had rather exasperated than intimidated the insurgents: Roland and the other chiefs continued the war, but, it must be confessed, with a success very different from that which had attended their arms as long as Cavalier retained his command. They had lost the *prestige* of victory, and, what is infinitely more valuable, their confidence in one another; while in Villars they had found a much more capable adversary than in Montrevel. Their haunts were tracked, their secret retreats discovered, their magazines and hospitals destroyed, their communications cut off; and the vigorous pursuit of the French Marshal, freed from the most eminent, if not perhaps the most honest, of his opponents, left them neither rest, nor the means of recruiting their dispirited and daily diminishing forces. A fruitless attempt was made to detach Roland from their interests. A Protestant, named D'Aigaliers, had undertaken to sound him, and, if possible, to bring him over; for this service, if successful, he was to receive the command of a regiment.

All his seductions however were unavailing, and Roland continued to be the most dangerous enemy of the Royal troops. At length treachery effected what neither force nor corruption could effect. A scoundrel named Malarte offered for a hundred pistoles to deliver Roland into the hands of Villars. It was known that the Cevenole, whose morality does not appear to have kept pace with his zeal for Protestantism, paid nightly visits to a lady at the neighbouring Château of Castelnau. Surprised in the dead of the night, he sprang from a window, and, placing his back against a tree, made a desperate defence with his sword: his enemies were armed with more efficient weapons, and a carbine-shot through his heart stretched him on the ground, happy in this, that he died the death of a soldier, and not that of a felon at the hands of the hangman (August 14th, 1704). Villars was not generous to his fallen foe: the insults which could no longer be inflicted upon him living, he permitted to be exercised on his corse. This was borne in triumph to Nismes, dragged with every mark of ignominy through the streets to the Esplanade, there cast upon a pile of faggots and reduced to ashes, which were scattered to the four winds of heaven. The fate of the other leaders I shall return to hereafter: for the present we will follow the fortunes of Cavalier.

Towards the end of the year 1704, after some months spent in irksome inactivity, he wrote from Mâcon to De Chamillard, requesting an audience on matters of importance, and was consequently directed to proceed to Paris. But his disclosures were not considered of any consequence by the Minister: in fact there seems no reason to suppose that he had ever been deeply entrusted with the secret intrigues of the Allies, or that he knew even a

tithe of what Chamillard himself must have known of their designs. All the biographies and all the histories which we have consulted for our account of these occurrences, concur in one anecdote respecting his residence in Paris. Louis XIV., it is asserted, expressed a wish to see the man who had earned himself so remarkable a name. Cavalier was accordingly placed in the corridor leading to the royal apartments, at Versailles: as Louis passed, he cast his eyes upon him, merely shrugged his shoulders with an air of contempt, and went on. Cavalier was directed to return to Burgundy, whence he soon took an opportunity of escaping to Switzerland, and finally into Savoy. So runs the tale, which, if not false, is at least imperfect, and gives a false view of the occurrence. Nevertheless this version of it has always met with belief; passing over the libels of Cavalier's traducers, let us hear what sober and impartial writers have related.

Saint-Simon says:* "The fanatics, surprised and beaten in various rencontres, about the middle of May, demanded to speak on parole with Lalande, who was serving as a general officer under Marshal Villars. Cavalier, their chief, an adventurer, but a man of talents and courage, required an amnesty for himself, for Roland, another of their chiefs, for one of their officers who had taken the name of Catinat, and for four hundred people that they had with them at the time; a passport and route for them all, out of the kingdom; permission for all the rest who wished to expatriate themselves, to do so at their own expense; liberty for all who wished to sell their chattels, so to do, and in fine pardon for all the prisoners of their party. Cavalier afterwards had an interview with Villars, with an equality of precautions and guards, which

* Mém., vol. iv. p. 185.

was thought very ridiculous. He deserted the fanatics in consideration of a pension of 1200 livres and a lieutenant-colonel's commission; but Roland would make no terms, and remained the head of the party, which continued to give trouble. There was a scandalous rush of people to see Cavalier, whenever he passed. He came to Paris, and desired to see the King, to whom however he was not presented. He lounged about thus for some time, was always looked upon with suspicion, and at last went over to England, where he obtained some recompense or other. [He* served with the English, and only died this year at a great age, in the Isle of Wight, where he had been Governor for many years with great authority and some reputation]."

M. Mary-Lafon is unjust to Cavalier, but has sufficiently studied the printed and manuscript authorities from which we derive our knowledge of these struggles. He sneers down Cavalier in a few words, but shows that he believes the story we have related to be well founded.† "While Cavalier, always intoxicated with his ridiculous self-conceit, was soliciting an audience of Chamillard, and making Louis XIV. shrug his shoulders at him on the grand staircase at Versailles, to end by suddenly running away with his deserters into Switzerland, and fall back again at last upon the service of England,—Roland," etc. etc. etc.

Hofmann has unquestionably given himself the most pains of all the authors who have written on this war. He says, "The King, in passing by, glanced on him with

* Saint-Simon wrote the first part of this notice in 1704, when Cavalier was just twenty-four years old. The part enclosed by brackets must have been interpolated by him at a much later period.

† Vol. iv. p. 261.

contempt. This reception at Court may have awakened suspicion in his mind; perhaps his interview with Chamillard had led him to think his convention somewhat less favourable than he had believed it to be. He rejoined his comrades in Mâcon,"* etc.

It is quite possible that Louis shrugged his shoulders in surprise that a person like Cavalier should so long have held out against his power; but it is more probable that the whole affair was one of those farces in which the Grand Monarque *par excellence* condescended to play a part, and that the shrug was intended for the public uninitiated in the mysteries of government. For the fact is, that Cavalier was presented to the King, had a long private audience of him, and, in the course of conversation with him, made some *naïve* remarks which must have had a strange sound in ears accustomed to very different strains. A letter from Cavalier himself reports the particulars of this rather singular audience, and his subsequent proceedings, down to the period of his escape into Switzerland. The letter, which is written in rather indifferent French, such as we may suppose a half-educated person like Cavalier to have used, is found only in a copy among the papers of Leibnitz, in the Royal Library at Hanover, and bears the title, 'Copie de la Réponse de M. Cavalier, Sevennois, 1704.' It is to be presumed that the Electress Sophia had directed Leibnitz to put certain questions to Cavalier, for the satisfaction of her curiosity, possibly excited by communications from her niece the Duchess of Orléans, upon the subject of his adventures; and further that this is his answer to those questions. I do not think that the slightest doubt can be entertained of its authenticity, or of its containing an accurate ac-

* Vol. iv. p. 209.

count of what really took place. The letter follows at page 431.

We presume that the French Court, not knowing what to do with these people, connived at and prepared their escape.

From Switzerland, as we have said, Cavalier found his way to Savoy, where he succeeded in raising a regiment of Protestants, which he commanded with the rank of colonel. In the battle of Almanza however, which gave Spain to Philip V., his regiment was cut to pieces, and he himself was left for dead upon the field. Recovering nevertheless from his wounds, he took refuge in Holland, where he also obtained a colonel's commission, and appears to have been employed to raise a regiment. Either he did not succeed in this, or the regiment was shortly afterwards reduced.* Much obscurity rests over this period of his life, which is not much illustrated by the scandalous libels and evidently false accusations of Madame Du Noyer, whose daughter he was engaged to marry, but disappointed.† It is probable that he fell into pecuniary difficulties; according to some accounts he exchanged a

* Many recruits flocked to him from Berlin. In a letter from Mr. Howe, then resident at Hanover, to Mr. Stepney, dated April 4, 1706, there is this entry: "On the 27 passt about 120 French refugees, and others, by the name of Camisars, listed to serve in Cavalier's regiment of foot, came from Berlin to the neighbouring places of this town; and 14 of these men, with a Suisse sergeant at the head of them, came hither, and were quartered by billets. They listed some few men, and sett out the 31 for Minden, the appointed place for their rendezvous, from whence they are to continue their march to Holland."—Stepn. Pap. xviii. fol. 87.

† "I have been solicited by so many people of note here in behalf of Madame Du Noyer, who all complain of the ill-usage she meets with from Colonel Cavalier, that I cannot help troubling you with her petition. I pray you will send for the Colonel, and exhort him to a compliance with her just request; otherwise I shall be obliged to complain of him to the

debtor's prison for the bed of a wealthy heiress. All that is certainly known is, that he entered the English service, rose to the rank of a Major-General, was for some years Governor of the Isle of Jersey,—not, as St.-Simon supposed, the Isle of Wight,—died at a very advanced age, and was buried at Chelsea, being one of the very few leaders of the Cevennese who came to a natural and peaceful end. It remains to say a very few words of the other chiefs of this insurrection. The fate of Roland has already been mentioned. Shortly after his death Ravanel, who as we have seen had been Cavalier's lieutenant, and was his successor in the command, allowed himself to be surprised in the woods of Saint-Benezet, and was beaten with the almost total destruction of his

Queen, that she may have justice done her out of his pension."—*Marlborough to Mr. Granville; Hague, 10th March*, 1711 (*Desp.* v. 269).

The Duke had however a good opinion of Cavalier, and the use to be made of the Cevennes troubles, as appears from the two following extracts from his despatches:—

"Outre cela nous attendons de la Hollande par le prochain convoi, un bataillon de Cevennois, où S. M. entre pour un tiers des frais. Il sera commandé par le Colonel Cavalier, qui s'est si fort distingué dans les Cevennes, et qui nous fait espérer qu'il entretiendra toujours de la Catalogne des intelligences avec ces gens-là, qui ne peut que produire une bonne diversion."—*Marlborough to Lichtenstein; St. James's, Feb. 5th*, 1706 (*Desp.* ii. 413).

"Elle (Q. Anne) a autant à cœur le secours des Cevennois que vous le pouvez souhaiter. Elle croit aussi n'en pouvoir donner une plus grande preuve, que la déclaration qu'Elle a faite, d'être contente de payer les deux tiers de la dépense, et de se laisser gouverner entièrement en tout ce qui regarde cette affaire, et les troupes qu'on pourra envoyer de ce côté-là selon les résolutions de les H. P."—*Marlborough to Marquis de Miremont; St. James's, Feb. 2, 1705* (*Desp.* i. 587).

"Her Majestie has been pleased to sign a commission, appointing the Marquis de Miremont Lieutenant-General of her armies, and commander-in-chief of her forces to be employed in Piedmont and the parts adjacent; the said forces are to consist of French Refugiéz. Marq. de Miremont fancies he can raise 6000 refugiez for Piedmont and the Cevennes."—*News-Letter of July 28th*, 1704 (*Ibid.*, 211).

band. His comrades now began to despair of success, and, one after the other, laid down their arms and claimed the benefit of the amnesty. During the months of September and October, 1704, Abraham Mazel, Castanet, Catinat, Élie Joany, and Larose, made their submission, and were provided with passports for Geneva; others found their way to England. It is probable that they still entertained hopes of finding fresh resources in men or money in this country, Holland, or Savoy; and that from Geneva they intended to resume the struggle on the first favourable occasion. During this time Villars had been relieved from his command and replaced by the Duke of Berwick. The Cevenole chiefs now returned in secret and one by one, to their native country, and speedily succeeded in organizing a most formidable conspiracy, whose object was no less than a general rising of the Protestants of the south of France, the surprising of Nismes and Montpellier, and the landing of an auxiliary army of the Allies in English vessels. But this insurrection was doomed to fail. Castanet was detected and arrested, and suffered death upon the wheel at Nismes, March 26th, 1705.

The Intendant Baville and the commander of the forces now began to entertain suspicions, and redoubled their precautions. Not long after this, other subordinate chiefs, and especially Boëton, Catinat, and Ravanel, were betrayed into their hands. After suffering the extremes of torture with hardly a cry of pain, and with a steady refusal to confess anything which might compromise their associates, they were put to a lingering and horrible death. Catinat and Ravanel were burnt alive; Boëton was mangled on the wheel, where his astonishing courage and faith were manifested in a manner to do no

service to the Royal and Catholic cause. With all his limbs broken, and suspended head downwards, he continued alive for upwards of five hours, chanting the Psalms, praying fervently, and addressing words of encouragement and admonition to the Protestants who surrounded the scaffold in tears. This was not the way to root out heresy! So deep was the impression which this constancy produced, that the Intendant found himself compelled to order the *coup de grâce*, or death-blow, to be given. On perceiving the executioner approaching to perform this duty, Boëton exclaimed, in a voice heard even above the roll of the drums, which had been beaten during the whole execution, "My dear brethren! let my death be an example to you all, to maintain the purity of the Gospel; and be faithful witnesses unto me that I die in the religion of Jesus Christ and his Apostles!" A moment later he had ceased to suffer. On March 3rd, 1706, Salomon, another leader, was sent to the stake at Montpellier; Moses, one of the prophets of Cavalier's band, was broken alive on the 8th of June; and Conderc La Fleur perished in the same manner in December of the same year. These repeated executions had completely prevented the intended insurrection; the scheme was nevertheless not entirely relinquished. The plan of a descent upon the French coast by an Anglo-Dutch fleet was again entertained in the year 1709, and in concert with this a new rising in the Cevennes was set on foot. This failed however entirely, and the last leaders of any note, Mazel, Billard, and Dupont, after defending themselves for some time with the energy of despair, were finally surrounded and overpowered, and suffered with the firmness which had distinguished their predecessors. The English fleet appeared indeed off the coast

of Languedoc in 1710, and Cette was taken possession of; but it was too late, the elements of resistance among the population were exhausted. The Duc de Noailles speedily recovered Agde and Cette, and with this disaster the war of religion in the Cevennes came at last to a close. We have seen that in the first emigration, after Cavalier's submission, some of the insurgents had taken refuge in England. They here formed a separate sect, eagerly proceeded to make proselytes, and continued the same extravagances which had characterized them in the valleys of Languedoc. Their pretensions to inspiration, absurd as they were, attracted the attention and excited the alarm of the clergy. With these impostures, or perhaps manifestations of unsound mind, Cavalier had nothing to do. We have no doubt, from the evidence before us, that in his earlier days, and while it served his purposes as a leader, he had, like the others, administered the Sacraments, and made pretensions to the gift of prophecy; but in the larger world in which his lot had since been cast, he had naturally learnt common sense, and discovered that claims to immediate inspiration were not likely to find much favour in the eyes of practical and thinking men. It is indeed related that on one occasion Queen Anne asked him whether he had himself ever shared in the miraculous gift of the prophets, and that on his replying in the affirmative she turned from him with an expression of disgust. If this be true, Cavalier profited by the hint, and took care for the future. The other brethren were less fortunate; they carried their folly so far as to occasion considerable uneasiness to the Government, and alarm among the people. At length they announced that they would raise a man from the dead: the experiment failed of course, but the

occurrence was nearly the cause of a serious breach of the public peace. The authorities now decided upon interfering with all the powers of the law. In spite of Shaftesbury's half merciful, half contemptuous advice,* to let the thing wear itself out and not to make martyrs of a pack of crazy enthusiasts, three of the principal fanatics were brought to trial and sentenced by the King's Bench to fine, imprisonment, and the pillory, as common cheats and impostors.† Their fate would be of little interest, had it not been shared by a man who, in his time, enjoyed a considerable reputation, and whose name is connected with one of the most celebrated of literary and scientific squabbles,—Fatio of Douillens. He was a member of the Royal Society of London, and had published works evincing considerable powers as a geometrician, by which his name had attained a certain European reputation. He appears also to have possessed mechanical talents of a high order, and was the inventor of various machines which in their day were looked upon with favour. But he appears to have been a person of inordinate vanity; and to some slight which he fancied Leibnitz had put upon him we owe the famous quarrel between this philosopher and Newton, which long convulsed the scientific world, and embittered the later years of those two great thinkers. Fatio had attached himself to Newton, and it is irresistibly comic to see with what self-complacency he writes, "Newton and Fatio affirm this," "Newton and Fatio deny that," and so forth. In a letter to Huygens, dated 1691, Fatio says "that it is *his* intention to give a new edition of the 'Principia.'" He writes, that it is really unnecessary to ask Newton

* Letter on Enthusiasm. London, 1707.

† December 12th, 1707.

to prepare a new edition of the 'Principia Philosophiæ Naturalis;' he had taken some trouble himself to induce him to do it, but in vain. "However," he adds, "I may possibly undertake it myself, as I know no one who so well and thoroughly understands a good part of this book as I do." Huygens wrote on the margin of this letter, "Happy Newton!". But Huygens never understood the Differential Calculus, and certainly did not foresee the pillory for his friend. This Fatio was the person who first accused Leibnitz of plagiarism from Newton, and finally stirred up the whole Royal Society to take a part in the deplorable quarrel. Yet Jacques Bernouilli had at that very time pointed out the distinction between the fluxional system of Newton and the infinitesimal differences of Leibnitz, and shown that both must have been obtained by independent and totally different trains of reasoning, which every one who knows anything of the whole tendency and technical handling of Leibnitz's philosophy sees in a moment to be true. Leibnitz's analysis was a corollary, and a necessary one, from his whole system of metaphysics, and would have followed with equal certainty and necessity had Sir Isaac Newton never lived. Modern analysis has decided on the merits: we *study* Newton's Lemmas, but we *use* the Differential Calculus, with all its really momentous developments. At that time it was a personal question, and partisans cared less for the truth than for the triumph of the side they espoused, especially as the national honour was very absurdly supposed to be concerned in the question.* It is difficult to understand

* The learned at that time were in the habit of holding intellectual tournaments. To set and solve problems was an occupation of great mathematical geniuses, which is now principally confined to the pro-

how a man of mathematical training could possibly blunder into making himself the secretary and active instrument of such a set of boobies as Élie Marion and his Cevennese brethren; men respectable only as long as they were affronting danger and death for their religion against the efforts of an unparalleled persecution, and that in their own native valleys, but who became an intolerable nuisance as soon as their negative resistance became converted into a positive mission, and they could not be content to be tolerated without worrying other people into their sect. It is charitable to hope that a certain weakness of brain, or will, lay at the bottom of this painful tendency. This is the more probable, as his punishment only drove him into wilder extravagances. He started on an expedition to convert the world, wandered through Germany, went into Asia, returned to England, and died forgotten and unhonoured in an obscure dwelling in one of the western counties, Worcester we believe. The public downfall of the prophets made it desirable for them also to leave England, whether in company with Fatio or not we are unable positively to state, though it is probable. They are at all events found in the north of Germany, where they made converts, as the Mormons now do. Wandering from place to place, preaching the Millennium and reign of the saints, they visited Sweden: here they were warned of the Spirit to seek Charles XII., at that time a prisoner in the hands

mising lads of a school about to send up a few of its sixth form to Cambridge. Chess seems to have its turn. Leibnitz had sent such problems to England, and mentioned those whom he thought capable of solving them; Newton was, Fatio was not, among the number. Fatio retorted by observing that *all he knew* was derived from Newton's and not Leibnitz's method, and that the latter was no doubt a thief, *αὖτος ἐφή*.

of the Turks. We next trace them at Constantinople, where they were laughed at; and in Rome, whence they were ejected; and finally again in England, where their sect, being no longer disquieted, soon fell into disrepute and oblivion. We close this account of their career with a few words written by Leibnitz to Burnet of Kemney, after their ignominious catastrophe:—"L'affaire des prophètes Sevennois a eu une méchante catastrophe, et j'en suis fâché pour l'amour de M. Facio: car comme c'est un homme excellent dans les mathématiques, je ne comprends pas bien comment il a pu estre embarqué dans une telle affaire. Les iuges ont esté contre les Sevennois, et si quelque chose a pu balancer les gens, c'a esté sa réputation. Il semble que c'est Caton qui prend le parti contraire à celuy des Dieux; il y a de l'apparence qu'on l'a trompé, car ie n'oserois douter de sa bonne foy."—Han., 16 Mars, 1708.*

We must not pass over in silence the Abbé de Bourlié, better known under the name of the Marquis de Guiscard, who, although not one of the leaders of the insurrection in the Cevennes, was deeply mixed up in many intrigues which resulted from it. He was a profligate adventurer, who had tried and failed in many schemes to raise himself to importance in the Church and the State. When the Cevennese began to listen to proposals to trust to man rather than God, to support themselves by means of foreigners, to play at politics instead of dying for religion, and to look for safety less in their own energy than in the succours and money of allies, he had made himself the agent of the combined Courts, and undertaken to organize an insurrection in La Rovergue.

* There is a good deal of curious literature extant respecting these fanatics: the principal works are found in the British Museum.

It was to be supported by a fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and a land army under Belcastel, and, had it been successful, would have placed the French commanders in a situation of the utmost embarrassment. We have seen that, from various circumstances, all these expeditions failed. Belcastel was sent to reinforce Galway in Spain, and share his apparent triumph, but ultimate defeat. De Guiscard took refuge in London, where he was for a time admitted into the circle of Bolingbroke. Profligate, and above all a gambler, he soon fell into distress; but a character like his accommodates itself to difficulties with a nonchalance which makes honest men tremble. He soon calculated the chances of profit and loss, and decided upon accepting the honourable office of spy upon the English Ministry, in the interests and the pay of France. Unhappily for himself, his letters were intercepted, and left no doubt as to his guilt. He was arrested upon a Secretary of State's warrant, and brought before the Privy Council for examination. During the time that he remained in an anteroom, he contrived to secrete an office penknife about his person. There is little doubt that he had formed the desperate resolution to assassinate Bolingbroke; but finding no opportunity of doing this, he made a sudden attack on Harley, whom he stabbed, but slightly, in the breast. Though immediately seized, he made so violent a resistance that the members of the Council present were compelled to use their swords, and he was only secured after having received several wounds, of which he died a few days later in Newgate, and before he could be brought to his trial.

The death of Louis XIV., and the accession of the Regent Orléans, could do no more for the Cevennese than,

by an act of tardy justice, restore to them the few surviving victims of the galleys and prisons. But persecution had done its work. Protestantism was nearly extinct; it died out, as its old but broken-down champions died out man by man; and perhaps superstition flourishes in no part of France at this moment more luxuriantly than in the districts which, for hundreds of years, through every peril, were the true strongholds of the opposition to priestly, royal, Jesuitical intolerance.

159.] *Answer to the Articles which H. S. H. demands to know, on the subject of the journey to Paris, and my escape.*

With regard to Fraignant, he was never with me. The object of my journey to Paris was to demand of the King the ratification of the Articles of the Treaty which Marshal Villars had made with me, which were: That all the prisoners and galley-slaves, who had been condemned since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, were to be set at liberty; that they were to give us liberty of conscience throughout the whole province of Languedoc:* and that all those who had expatriated themselves for the sake of religion, should have liberty to return, and to have full enjoyment of their property. After I had made all these demands, he (*i.e.* the King) said to me, That the hearts of all Kings were in the hand of God, and that it was not for subjects to meddle with religion; that the ministers had to answer for the salvation of their flocks; that if

* How genuine is the little provincial feeling here! Cavalier fought for his own liberty, for the liberty of a few friends, for the liberty of Languedoc,—not for freedom of conscience in general. The peasant, which he still was,—though the seeds of a hero were in him,—thought of nothing but his province and its sufferings. And therefore, when he came to be mixed up in the great drama then played in the world, he remained a good officer and a brave soldier; but the chief of the religious movement in the Cevennes became a Major-General of the ordinary stamp.

his religion had not been the good one, God would have let him know it, since he gave him the grace to vanquish his enemies on every spot where he had attacked them.* And he asked me, where I got my money and ammunition from? I answered him, That we were so often engaged with his troops that they furnished me abundance of all that I was in need of. Upon that he gave me orders to retire, and replaced me in the hands of the Sieur de Chamillard, saying to me, That he would do something for me; that I must be steady. Afterwards I was reconducted into Burgundy by the same courier, *being forbid, on pain of incurring the King's indignation, to say that I had spoken with him, or that I had been to Paris,* all of which I observed very exactly until my escape from France. Afterwards, having remained six weeks in Burgundy, I received orders to set out for Brissac, under escort of the Maréchaussée of Dijon, which was relieved from place to place till Besançon. When I was two days' journey from Besançon, I was lodged in a village where the houses stood very far apart. Seeing myself so near Switzerland, I took the resolution to escape from the hands of my enemies. I gave my orders to all my troop to be ready at such an hour, which they did; and at night I began to file off with a guide, in the direction of Switzerland, without any one's asking me whither I was going. Providence conducted me to Neufchâtel, in Switzerland, where I was well received.

160.] POLEY TO STEPNEY.

Hanover, 4 Feb., 1705.

Sr,

By mine of the 1st I acquainted you with our sad misfortune of having lost the Queen of Prussia; How far the doctors were to blame, I will not determine. I am sorry they bled her but once, for a disease in which bleeding, I know, is often

* Poor King! This was said in September, and the Battle of Blenheim had been fought in August!

thought the only cure. I suppose I told you it was an inflammation in the lungs, which the learn'd call Peripneumonia; about an hour before she died, or not much more, she would be bled againe, and that bleeding made her death more easy. She died without much concern, and with much presence of mind, and good nature to those about her. A clergyman was sent for, and she heard and answer'd him very distinctly, but was not desirous of much application to her of that kind; but express't herself with much resignation and much confidence, so that tho' you may imagine there will be morall reflexions made upon this occasion (off my poor Lady Bellamont's straine), yet there is not so much foundation for them as will be reported; for she own'd and answerd him in all he said, but she was past much discours when he came, which may be the fault of others. Her body was open'd and, as the D^r^ saith, was found very defective, and I am told the Chirurgeon saith, it was as well constituted as any body he hath met with; 'so I will leave the determination to others who know more. I was affraid the Electrice would have been in much more disorder at it, then I thank God she proves to be. She was told it the same evening, and took it heavily, but the day after she seem'd to callm againe; she slept well on Monday, and is not ill since; so I hope the worst is over. The Elector was very much afflicted, and hath been bled twice, but is in no apprehension of being sick, as was once imagin'd. We are expecting from Berlin all the orders requisite for disposing the Ceremonies relating to the Funeral and the State of itt, and I suppose the removing of the body will be performed with much splendour, nor have I anything to add but the assuring you that I am S^ir^, etc. etc. etc.,

E. Poley.

161.] Shrewsbury to Stepney.

Rome, 7th March, 1705.

Sir,

I am favoured with yours of the 21 Feb. by Comte Lambergs servant, and also with the poem, in which there is

great warmth and fancy, many of the beautys in Milton, but too many of his faults; however it pleases me, and I wish wee did more generally take vp the vse of those blank verses, more noble and unconfined, than the Gothick monkish fashion of gingling rhime, which serves as a crutch to support lame verses and weak thoughts.

Some of my letters from England say my Ld Paget will be sent to Vienna about the treaty with the Hungarians; others say the D. of Marlborough will come himself to settle that matter. I find by them that the Court of Vienna are a little dissatisfyd with you for haveing too much pressed that accomodation, in short for haveing acted as you ought to do, and if who comes now dos not do as much or more, he had better stay at home.

I have a letter from Mr. Montagu this post, who mentions Mr. Gaugain, but says nothing of his being with the M. of Hartford or of his comeing abroad again.

I must take the liberty to trouble you with the enclosed to Mr. Whitworth.

Wee are told the Queen of Poland is to be met by the Duchesse of Bavaria somewhere near Padua, where it is supposed they will consult about no good.

I am, Sir, etc. etc.,

SHREWSBURY.

I hope you have received the M. de Pries memorial, which I sent long since.

162.] CAROLINE, PRINCESS OF ANSPACH, TO LEIBNITZ.

Anspache, ce 2 *d'avril* [1705].

Monsieur,

J'espere que vous ne trouverez pas movez de ce que j'ay enCouragée M^r^ hneflein de vous ecrire; et je suis persouadée que quand il aura l'honneur d'estre connu de vous, Monsieur, que vous luis accordere votre estime. Cest un homme qui a infiniment du merite, et qui est aime de tout ceu qui on le plaisir de le connoistre. Ce que j'estime de plus en luis C'est

la grande venerassion qu'il a pour vous, vous consideran de la manigere, comme vous le meritez. Le ciel, chalou de notre bonheur, nous vien d'anlever notre adorable Reine; le coups fadalle ma plongée dans vne afliction mordelle, et il y a rien qui me puise consoller que L'esperance de la suivere de pret. Je vous plaint de tout mon Cœur, Monsieur; C'este perte est pour vous inreparable. Je prie le Seigneur qu'il veuille ajouter les anné que la feu Reine auray peu vivre a C'eus de Mda. L'Electerise, a la quelle je vous suplie de fair ma Cour. Je suis, Monsieur, avec vn parfait adachement,

Votre Servant,

CAROLINE.

163.] FREDERICK AUGUSTUS, KING OF POLAND, TO VON GERSDORF.*

Grodno, 8me Janvier, 1706.

La nouvelles de larres de Monsieur Batcoul mestras sen doustes boucous de mondes en esttonemen, suertout çeus qui ont eus, par des trestes quil as conclus avec Mr. Strattman, a lejar des 6 m moscowietes qui sont en Saxe; et commes le Sieur Patcoul en a donnes a ce qui se dies la notification a lengleterres et os estas dohlentes, par au jes crois detres pre[venu], je creus necesseres de vous informer dun fest, pour que vous le presenties os dies estat et que vous en donniez la communication a mon residen en Angleterres, qu'ul en fasse de mesmes en cas quon en viens a parler.

En premier lieus jes for . . . . quon saches que ces dietes trouppes me sont stipules par une allianse, par laquelle il les

* Wolf Abraham von Gersdorff was at this time Saxon Minister at the Hague, and filled successively various diplomatic appointments in England and elsewhere. This letter was written not only to justify Patkul's arrest, but to serve as an answer to the Allies if they complained of the retention of the Russian contingent, which Patkul's treaty with Stratmann would have placed at their disposal for the war against France.

dict, qui me resteron si longtems que la guerres dureras contres la Suedes, et que jen dispose quommes des miens prospres. En secon, sa Majeste Zarienne ayen seut sur mes pleintes que patcoulle formes des dessein de donner ces trouppes a des otres puissance, il ma declare de bouges et par ecries que cestes nullemen ces volontes et ies envoyer des ordres que Patcoul nes deus point entersprendres des parelges trestes, et qui ce doit demestres de son commendement et le remettre entres les meins de mes jeneros. Troisieme, et con a jasmes veus qun otres Prinse a mon inscut veus ferres marcher des troupes qui sont dans ses payes herrediteres, qui sont sous mes ordres, sen men parler, en que ju's consedasse; ce sont des prossedes bien extraordineres, ne se contentent pas seullement de me lesser sen les trouples, mes de voulloir me desarmer sen songer a massister. Vous navez qua leur representer tout cesi en cas que vous viestes quon temoignas du chagrins que leur messures ont ete rompues; mes ces messieuus en sont cosse silon crues ferres ces trestes cela derobes et a mon inscut ces trestes le monde bien cavalgerremen; os lieuus que sil eusse agies dostres manieres, ils morres trouves dispos a les secondes, moigenen des chosse ressenables. Voissi ce que vous leur pourres remontrer, et donner part au Ressiden denglesterre de ce quil orras a dierres.

AUGUSTE, ROY.

164.] PHILIPPE, DUC D'ORLÉANS (AFTERWARDS REGENT).

Billet de M. le Duc d'Orléans, que Madame a envoyé à Mad. l'Electrice de Bronsvic à l'occasion de quelques-unes de mes pensées que S. A. R. avoit lues chez Madame. Féurier, 1706.

(L.)

Je nay jamais rien vu de mieux ecrit ny deplus net, dans des matieres aussi obscures et aussi abstraites que les deux lettres de Mr de Leibnitz que Madame m'a fait l'honneur de me montrer. Jay este rauy de voir condamner, par un auss habile homme que luy, l'erreur de ceux qui confondent la ma-

tiere et l'estendue; et il demontre parfaitement bien, que sans des unites reelles, la matiere ne pourroit point exister, et que l'assemblage des infiniment petits ne peut jamais composer une grandeur. L'unite qu'il etablit pour les ames est encore aussi belle et aussi necessaire; mais jauoue que deux choses m'y embarassent. 1° qu'il me semble que c'est un manque d'unité que d'estre sujet à des changemens, ne fusse qu'à celuy de la succession du tems; ce qui ne me faisoit reconnoitre de vray unité qu'en Dieu, qui ayant egalement present le passé et l'avenir, n'est point sujet à aucune succession du tems; et comprenant tout egalement, et à la fois, par l'action eternelle de son imagination, pour ainsi dire, est veritable unité, base de toute estendue, tems et perception.

La 2. chose qui embarasse mon ignorance, c'est que je ne comprends pas la diference ou la liaison des unites ames auec les unites matiere: rien n'est plus ingenieux pour le faire entendre, que la comparaison dont Mr de Leibnitz se sert, des raions du cercle, et des ronds qui se font dans l'eau; cela montre parfaitement ce qui fait la diference des sensations, et ce qui empesche qu'elles ne se confondent les unes auec les autres: cela est quasi geometrique: mais la maniere dont cela se fait, et son passages, est audessus de ma comprehension, du moins dans l'estat où je suis. Je me flatte que je le verray plus clairement si je puis arriuer à ce point de deuenir genie, comme M^r de leibnitz nous le fait esperer.

165.] SCHULENBURG TO HIS SISTER.

Sorau, February 17th, 1706.

Mademoiselle,

Your predictions, my dear Sister, have been but too just. Had it been possible, I would gladly have escaped this blow; but pass through it I must. You will easily judge what a state I am in; although everybody acknowledges that the Swedes must infallibly have been beaten if my people had only chosen to act half like men. I cannot understand it:

never were people seen to go into battle with better spirits than these troops; yet scarcely had the Muscovites caught sight of the enemy at a distance, than they entirely lost their heads, and began to file off and retire, which is in truth the cause of all this misfortune, as well as also that the greater part of the cavalry ran away at the first brush. If they had only chosen to listen to me this year, this misfortune would not have happened; but the King put faith in people who have private views of their own, who do not understand the art of war, and whose whole object has been to gain time and to make money. Besides which there is no army in Europe worse disciplined than this: the thefts, cruelties, and murders which the dragoons and troopers committed after their flight are unheard of, and that even from the field of battle itself to Saxony; and in truth it is therefore that the hand of God is so heavy upon us as it is. I confess that life is very wearisome after blows like these, but it is then that one loses it the least. I do not know how the King will now get out of all these troubles. I am sorry for him from the bottom of my heart; and I am inconsolable for having been at the head of the army in this infamous action, which cannot fail to cause the greatest disorder in his affairs. Besides, I shall not suffer slightly from it myself, through the envy and hatred of my enemies; although I am well defended against all they can say or do, being but too well convinced that there is no mistake or negligence which fortune may not render fatal in our trade of war: but to make soldiers stand who are determined to run away, or to make them act like so many puppets, that is beyond my power. But short of that I have, thank God, done all that was humanly possible, notwithstanding which there is enough of my own in the matter. Patience! I will tell you more hereafter. Have the goodness at once to show and communicate the plan and the relation, which has been drawn up in haste, to M. de Leibnitz, to whom I cannot write at full. I am, my dear Sister, yours ever,

SCHULENBURG.

166.] LEIBNITZ TO SCHULENBURG.

Copy of my Letter to M. le Baron de Schulenburg, General of Infantry in the service of the King of Poland, February 27th, 1706, in answer to his of the 17th.

Sir,

All the letters I have seen from Dresden, Berlin, Wolfenbüttel, and elsewhere, have done you justice. They say that you could not possibly have made a better disposition, nor have acted with more conduct and zeal; and that nothing could have behaved worse than a part of your cavalry, especially on the left wing, or than the Muscovite infantry, which forgot in a moment all that it had been taught. It seems as if fear had taken away their senses from the people, and that they ran away mechanically: thus they forgot that the only means of safety in affairs of this kind is to stand firm. It appears that the wide front which the Swedes made exaggerated objects in the eyes of these wretches, and filled them with terror, as if the enemy was stronger than was really the fact. Rheinschild's move was no doubt an act of desperation, which has succeeded only through the cowardice of the troops opposed to him. But it would be difficult, Sir, to say in what respect you could have done better than you did. You were in the right to form two lines, in order the better to secure your *corps de bataille* against a furious attack; and if you had also made a wide front, and the enemy had broken through, you would have had to bear the blame. Your infantry had its front covered by *chevaux-de-frise*, and you had secured your flanks by means of two villages; you had made sure of the villages themselves by posting dragoons in the one and infantry in the other: in short, it was not your business to attack, but to let the enemy come and break his own head against troops so advantageously posted, as ought naturally to have been the case. But your people having broken without any reason whatever, and even before the enemy could get up to them, one cannot charge this misfor-

tune upon anything but the strange panic terror which took possession of your troops. God alone has influence on the soul by itself, and we can only act by outward means; and it is not in our power, Sir, as you very justly say, to make men act like puppets.

I am very sensible that a person of any strength of mind, and that is not stupid, cannot easily shake off the sense of such a misfortune, although one may be well aware that one is oneself beyond the reach of blame. The thoughts must be diverted; and you will now find this diversion only in thinking on means to redress the state of affairs, or at least to diminish their unhappy consequences. The late Elector-Palatine Charles Louis used to say, there is a remedy for everything but death: it is true that it is often very difficult to find the right remedy. There is a tendency here to believe that the Swedes will not make an irruption into Saxony. M. Rheinschild will not do it without an express order from his master. I grant that a Charles Gustavus would set not only Saxony, but Silesia, Moravia, and Bohemia to boot, in a blaze; for those provinces are ready enough to revolt. But the King of Sweden appears to be attached to his single aim. He is not a man to allow himself to be misled, or to give in to new and sudden resolutions. I should rather be inclined to believe that in case of need Rheinschild will go against the King of Poland and the Cossacks of the Czar; or that he will rejoin his own King in order to aid in ruining the Muscovites who are in Lithuania. If they behave as your Muscovites did, there will be no way to prevent it. I see nothing but the bad weather and thaw which can possibly save them, since in fact the Swedish army must have suffered a good deal. If they do maintain themselves in Lithuania, I imagine that a good number of Poles will remain faithful to the King, if it were only on account of the election of Stanislaus, which they look upon as an act of violence, and absolutely contrary to their liberties. In this case the King ought to throw himself strongly upon them, as it will be long before he can count upon the Saxons; and if the Poles stand firm, the Swedes will always find themselves

inconvenienced enough in spite of their victory. Above all, it seems that the King ought to look upon the interest of the Czar as his own; and, in order to save the principal corps of Muscovites, he must make the most suitable movements by joining to whatever Saxon and Polish cavalry he still has the corps of Cossacks, commanded by their Mazeppa. And as for you, Sir, if I was his Minister, I should advise him to draw you also in that direction; for in my opinion all depends upon the safety of the great Muscovite army.

But for my own part, Sir, I should wish to see you anywhere else than among these barbarians, who show neither reason or courage. I should like to see you particularly in Spain, but at the head of a fine army to support the legitimate King. This Prince seems to me even in greater danger than the King of Poland, for to all appearance he will soon be shut up both by sea and land; and as he has but few good troops, it will take nothing short of a miracle to disengage him. I cannot justify the resolution that has been taken to leave this young Prince, who forms at this moment almost the sole hope of the House of Austria, in a position where it is so easy to oppress and so difficult to succour him.

Still, Sir, I can well conceive that if the King your master does you justice, as to all appearance he will, it will be difficult for you to leave him in his present position. You tell us nothing of your own views, apparently because you could not be sure that your letters would be duly delivered. If you do remain in his service, I could wish that means might be found to make you and M. le Comte de Flemming sincere friends, without which it is difficult for the affairs of the King to go on as they ought. He has many good qualities, and a high mind; but he is a little fastidious and hasty. You would want a third, a man of honour, and a good friend of you both, to aid in keeping up a good understanding between you, and such a person would be very useful to the King;—in fine, I should also wish that M. de Patkul might be released from prison, and that at the utmost he should only be kept in arrest in his own house till affairs permitted of his being

restored entirely to liberty. These are the speculations of a man who does not know your affairs to the bottom, and who speaks only from things that appear to him from afar off; in order speedily to recover those of your master would require something very extraordinary and very unexpected. There may possibly be such things in nature, but we cannot count upon them, even were there the means of executing them. But, according to the ordinary train of affairs, we must have much patience and take much pains, and if by any means time can be gained, and a still greater misfortune avoided, the wound will close of itself; and if then serious thoughts of reformation are entertained, it seems there may be some hope of a change for the better.

In conclusion, Sir, I wish with Mademoiselle your sister that you may be on the side that the Gods are,—*fatis accede Deisque;* that is to say, according to my view, either your Court must reconcile itself to Providence, by putting its affairs into good order, which is the real way to have Heaven on our side; or finally, that you should leave this service, if order and sovereign reason, that true ray of Divinity itself, continue to be despised there. I presume, Sir, that you have remained within reach, in order to try and pick up some fragments; however I hope soon to learn where you are going, and am, etc. etc.,

L.

P.S. I shall make a tour to Berlin in a few weeks. There is some appearance that the Imperial Court and the Allies will now have more success in pressing the Court of Denmark to the resolution of leaving the possession of the Bishopric of Lübeck to the Administrator of Holstein. We are very anxious that this affair should be terminated amicably, because our Court is engaged by a formal treaty with Sweden to guarantee the right of the Administrator, which seems established by the treaty of Travendahl.

167.] LORD PETERBOROUGH TO ADMIRAL SIR J. LEAKE.

Valencia, April 7th, 1706, *N.S.*

Sir,

The King, contrary to all the advices cou'd be offer'd to him, haveing delay'd his going out of Barcelona, till it's hardly possible for him to get out of that place, at least without the utmost hazard to his person, it is certainly of the highest consequence that we all endeavour what humanely is possible, for the relief of that place, or particularly for the safety of his majesty. It has been my misfortune, and I doubt, his ill fate, that his Ma^ty has in nothing ever attended to the advices of the Queen's ministers, or mine, or seldom consulted, or neaver approv'd of those councels or advices offer'd him by the Portugal Ambassador, a man of great ability, and very faithfull to the publick interest. His Ma^y has been pleas'd to send positive orders to contradict those that I had given to the troops under my command, the fatal consequences of which measures are now apparent to all mankind, and the motives upon which I gave my orders justify'd by all mankind and by events. Those fatal ministers he has about him haveing sent such orders in the King's name, which, tho' with the utmost positiveness, havein been always rejected by the unanimous consent of all the officers present, his own Spaniards, Germans, Italians, English, and Dutch.

But these fatal Orders have prevented all that I have been able to doe for him with successes almost miraculous, and a sure game made almost desperate by a repetition of such unhear'd of Follyes, as noe History ever produc'd.

The King is persuaded by the same advices to send positive orders, or what is very like them, to yourself and Adm^l Wassenaer; I send you a copie of my commission, which some circumstances make me conceive necessary you shou'd look over. The contents of one order they were pleas'd to communicate to me, but this last is a secret. The first being an order to bring imediately to Barcelona, the fleet, the troopes, the mony design'd for the use of the King of Spaine; I presume

this last may be a repitition of the same with more circumstances.

Haveing secur'd to the interest of the King this capital of Valencia, and the whole kingdom being in subjection to his Maty, being in person here with a good body of Horse, besides three Regiments of foot, and possess'd of all those places by the Sea side, from Denia to Valencia, by which the junction of the succours might be made safely without any opposition, haveing all Magazines, Provisions, Ammunition and Artillery here, which are provided nowhere else; by the unanimous opinion of three or four Councels of war, the Viceroy of Valencia joyning with the whole representatives of the kingdome in the same opinion, and all his Catholick Matys officers agreeing to a man in those councels of war, I sent several orders by boats and ships, to signifie my desires, That the troopes, mony, artillery and stores, and all relateing to land service, might be landed at Altea, or Denia, or if safe, the weather settled and fair, at the Gran near Valencia, small ships only comeing near the shore, with transports that at a great distance would be met with numbers of boats and barks for the speedy descent, the men of war not being detain'd from the speedy succouring of Barcelona by sea, if in a condition to dispute with the enemy. I had sent likewise orders to Lt Genl Windham to land the troopes with the utmost dispatch, intending upon the first notice to come aboard to give the best directions advice and intelligence in my power. These orders were previous in time to those perhaps you may receive from his Maty, which, I fear, are the produce of Land Admirals.

I shall now only give the reasons why I gave the orders for the disembarqueing the Troopes at Altea or Denia, as of absolute necessity, in my opinion, for the safe and speedy operacions of the Fleet, as well as for the Land service.

How unsafe it is for a Fleet to come before an enemy with the encumbrance of transport ships is obvious, especially when it may be doubtfull they may be superiour in number; without such an incumbrance an unequal force might be avoided without the necessity of a battel. If the forces are landed at a dis-

tance from the enemy, the transport ships might be left with a very small convoy, and the main fleet proceed without delay or danger towards the enemy.

The number of ships of the enemy's are now about seaven and twenty sayle, and the common report, and the intelligence from the Court confirms, that the Count de Tolouse was putting to sea with the great ship and gallyes. This is what I think fit to lay before you, not knowing what to say as to the contents of this Packet from the King of Spain, it not being communicated to me.

Sir, your most humble and most affect^e^ Servant,

PETERBOROW.

168.] PETERBOROUGH TO HALIFAX.

May the 29th, 1706, *aboard the Sommersett.*

My Lord,

There cannot be worse company than a beggarly German and a proud Spaniard, particularly to my humour; and were it not for the revenge we seek in the disagreable men with the agreable ladys, our condition were intollerable, black eyes and wit in the wives being what alone can make us endure the husbands; the Fair sex especially never failing to put in practise the making use of all opportunities in pleasures, the revers of what our Statesmen practise in business.

Are you not bound in conscience to make us amends from England with now and then a letter, in these dismal circumstances; the Ministers have given us till lately neither men nor money, and our friends no letters, neither of business nor scandal; I know not which we ought most to reproach.

But however, my Lord, being perfect good Christians and well with the Church in these Countrys (which thinkes herself intirely safe under her Majesties protection), we forgive, if you will repent and amend; we offer you letter for letter, if you will enter in correspondence and traffic, story for story, and good wine for good ale and sider, bottle for bottle.

I doe not trouble you with the account of our successes, which I am obliged to send to the Secretary's Office. I believe the French themselves will own enough to make the news agreable, but my Lord, I hope our Spanish prince will mend his Pace, now he is become as one of us, a Lover and a Sinner; to merit some news of that kind from England, I inform you, that we have certain intelligence to our great satisfaction, as we hope it may prove to the chitcats assembled near charing cross, that a Don John is upon the stocks in Barcelona.

What is past you have heard before this comes to your hands, and I will write a letter to my Lord Sommers to summon in the Whig Arrierban for our support in case of necessity for autumn. Tell my Lord Duke next Sunday dinner I'm actually a board the Sommersett, pressing her to comply with my earnest desires of getting me ashore at Valentia; the Germans tell me the King will follow; the English will excuse me I hope if I stay for nobody; they sent me to Valentia when none of them desired to be of the party. I came back with more hast than I went, and am returning with the same impatience to try if I can find the way to Madrid, during this consternation of the Ennemy, and from thence to London.

When the time comes that you shall see orders from a King to abandone Kingdomes, which by disobedience I have preserved for him,—when you shall see that all the generall officers have had a more dangerous war with Ministers, than the Ennemys, and above twenty positive orders from Court rejected from all sides by the unanimous Votes of Counncills of War, consisting of Spaniards, Italians, Flemings, Dutch, and English,—you will think our story remarkable, and my circumstances very agreable all this while, who have supported this affair hetherto by methods hardly ever approved by Councills of War, where our case was most commonly thought desperate, and the measures I was obliged to take thought so too, but against German directions we were always of a piece.

My Lord Gallway should be in Madrid, having secured all the Spanish foot in Alcantara, being within a few days march of that Capital, early in May; by the last accounts he was at

Almara along the river leading to Toledo, but if Portugall Generalls (who passe all understanding) should retire with six and twenty thousand men, having no Ennemy, we loose the present criticall Minut, and if not supported this Autumn, fortune may turn against us, and justly punish us for neglecting her favourable offers, which however, my Lord, shall never be lay'd to my charge, and may neither man nor woman forgive when that appeares my fault.

My Lord, your most humble and obedient Servant,

PETERBOROW.

My Lord I am so stung with Musquitoes that I am not able to writte with my own hand.

169.] LOUISE HOLLANDINE, ABBESS OF MAUBUISSON, TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

Ce 4ème Aoust, 1707.

Il fait icy, ma chere Sœur, vne chaleur excessive; on dit que plusieurs personnes en sont mortes, ce que i'ay peine a croire, car il me semble que tout le monde finit ordinairement par le froid. Ce qui est de vray, cet qu'on est plus abattu par le grand chaud; mais chaque saison a son incommodité, ou plustost ie croy que c'est nᵒˢ mesmes qui avons en nᵒˢ les dispositions qui nᵒˢ incommodent; cela est surtout vray de la viellesse, et ie le certifieray plus que ie ne voudrois. On ma persuadée de manger de la moutarde avec ma viande, pour me rendre, dit on, le mouvement de la langue plus aisé; on me raporte sur cela des exemples, vrais ou faux, de gens qui auoient la langue embarassée comme moy, et qui, apres auoir bien mangé auec de la moutarde, ont parlé plus librement. Pour moy, ie ne m'en trouue pas le caquet plus affilé, et ie panse bien seulement que ie suis moins prise qu'vne autre parceque ie croy quil y a bien des choses qui ne meritent gueres d'estre dittes. Ie recus hier la lettre que uous m'auez fait lhonneur de m'escrire, dans laquelle vᵒˢ me mandez qu'on

craignoit que la Princesse Electorale neut la petite verole par la peur quelle auoit eue en voyant quelqu'vn qui l'auoit. Mais comme v^s^ me dittes quelle auoit Musique dans sa chambre, et quelle y chantoit, ie me rassure quelle n'aura que la peur, car si c'estoit la petite verole elle auroit la fièure et mal de cœur. Vous me faittes vne description de son beau teint et de toute sa figure qui fait plaisir à imaginer, et v^s^ auez bien raison de dire que si ie peignois encore ie tascherois de me la representer assez viuement pour la peindre. En ce pays cy, depuis que les femmes prennent du tabac et boiuent des liqueurs fortes et le uin assez pur, elles sont fort laides. Mme de Nemours, qui auoit gardé les anciennes mœurs, disoit, autres fois on estoit heureux quand son cocher nestoit point ivrogne; a lheure quil est on est trop heureuse quand on a vne belle fille qui ne lest pas. Vous sauez quelle a touiours pensé et parlé fort librement: on dit quelle a marqué dans son testament que son experience luy a appris qu'on ne fait que mentir dans les oraisons funebres, cest pourquoy elle deffend qu'on luy en fasse. Ses heritiers songent plus a son heritage qu'à sa memoire, et a lheure quil est rien n'est encore decidé. Ie plaindray M^r^ le Prince de Anty sil n'a encore pardeuers luy que les frais du voyage. Ie ne say que croire sur Monsieur LElecteur v̄re fils; on me dit vn jour qu'il accepte le commandem̄ de larmée; vn autre jour on me dit quil le refuse; ie voudrais que ce dernier fust vray, et ie vous en demande des nouuelles. Iay bien oy de ce que v^s^ me dittes du sang de St Genaro; n^s^ auons aussy icy vn sang dont on dit pareille chose, mais ie n'ay pas le talent de le mettre en vogue, et ie n'en ay pas non plus la volonté. Vous croyez donc que le Pere Vota s'en porte mieux quand vous auez mis sa bile en mouuement; ie ne say pas assez de medicin p^r^ en iuger, mais ce quil y a de bon cest quil est homme qui entend raillerie. Vous auez bien raison de vous exercer à faire de la tapisserie; c'est vn ouurage que i'ay touiours trouué agreable, parce qu'on le voit auancer, et on aime cela. On acheue icy vn ouurage de cette espece qu'on admire fort pour la beauté du dessein et le choix des couleurs; c'est vn tres grand tapis pour lautel; ie dois auiourdhuy laller

voir, il est fait; cest vn ouurage de tres longue haleine. Voila vne lettre pour Mad. Bellemont; il ne faut pas quelle y fasse la grimace, car sa bonne amie est vne bonne personne qui n'a recours à elle, ie croy, que dans son besoin. Je croy la grossesse de la Princesse Royale bien auancée; Dieu sait auec combien de ceremonies on remerciera le bon Dieu à la naissance et au bateme futur. Je me porte à mon ordinaire, ayant bien chaud, ce qui n'est pas mauuais à ma santé, ny, je croy, à la vostre.

170.] LEIBNITZ TO DAVENANT.

Hanover, August 19th, 1706.

Sir,

I do not follow the example of M. Magliabecchi, who put himself out of temper on a report of his death having been spread. M. de Bulau had brought me that of mine. I made out of it a subject of rejoicing, and I greatly approve of the maxim of those who strive to find such in everything; though I by no means hold the principles of Lucretius, and cannot build two cities in one day like that Sardanapalus whose epitaph, translated into Italian, you send me, on what account I know not, as if it was something curious. This epitaph was celebrated enough among the ancients: you know, Sir, these verses, which have been translated from it into Latin—

> "Hæc habui quæ edi, quæque exsaturata libido
> Hausit; at illa jacent, multa et præclara relicta."

I should prefer to say,

> Hæc habui quæ scivi, et lætus recta peregi;
> Quæque relicta jacent, montem tamen acta sequuntur;

for I hold the principle of a sovereign reason entirely conformable to that fine expression of Scripture, "Opera eorum sequentur eos." Nothing is lost, according to my philosophy; and not only do all simple substances, such as souls, necessarily preserve themselves, but, what is more, all actions remain in

nature, however transitory they may appear to our eyes, and all the foregoing enter into all the subsequent ones. I have demonstrated this mathematically with regard to motion, no single act of which perishes; and as the perceptions are the representations of motions, the same must be said of them. I do not know whether you will continue to call me a philosopher after this confession, which is sufficiently conformable to established opinions, and in the truth of which the public is interested.

I have seen a fine version of Lucretius in Italian verse, but not rhymed. It is attributed to M. Marchetti, and has not yet been printed. I had it bought one day for the Queen of Prussia, and I hope it has not been lost; it will probably then be the same as the one which the Duke of Shrewsbury has brought, as you tell me.

I only wish that some excellent poet would put a philosophy more true than that of Epicurus into verses as beautiful as those of Lucretius.

The election of Münster may have consequences. The Pope has acted wisely in having it put off, in order that nothing may be done in a hurry. Formerly the Emperors had the nomination; the Popes extorted this from them, but still reserving to them certain considerable rights, which the Emperors themselves have neglected to uphold. It is nevertheless still only just that the Emperor should have at least the power of suspending the matter till an equitable discussion, in order to avoid any irreparable prejudice which might happen to the public good. Strangers may say, Sir, with you, that they do not care much about what regards the internal affairs of the Empire as long as the peace of Europe is none the worse for it; but MM. the States are of opinion that the one has a good deal of connection with the other.

If we should receive any check upon the Rhine, we shall only get our deserts. The Emperor is excusable for recalling the troops which are necessary to him to prevent Austria and Moravia from being entirely destroyed: but the Empire is not excusable for acting with so much *sconcerto*. The con-

tingents of the Empire ought to be devoted solely to forming its army and furnishing it with necessaries. But important matters are only treated *en passant* at Ratisbon, and the Ministers there have either scarcely any instructions at all, or are not sufficiently accredited; and after that it is no wonder if they do no great things, or if their conclusions are of little effect. There are some able men among them, but it is not their fault if affairs are not better managed. M. the Elector of Mayence had formerly a grand design, into which the Margrave Louis of Baden had also entered, to establish a good order in the Circles amongst themselves. But even if the conjunctures had been favourable, the plan would have required more concert with the Imperial Court and with the most powerful members of the Empire; and it would have been possible to find a way to satisfy them. I saw with pain that this design ended in smoke, merely for want of a good understanding between them. The disputes concerning the Ninth Electorate, in which France meddled, contributed a good deal to this result. But I do not despair of our returning some day to something of this kind, provided always that the Emperor may find in it also the maintenance of his authority, which is necessary in the Empire, if exercised according to the laws; to which this very project might have served: for it is quite true that those Princes who govern according to law, are for the most part those who have the greatest authority, or at all events the most durable. This English maxim deserves to be that of all nations. After having been saved by your good principles and by your money, it is right that we should go to school to you,—I mean you as you now are, and not as you were sixty years ago. You have learnt to your own cost that you may push liberty too far: hence I hope that people will be wiser now, and will not suffer themselves to be dazzled by exaggerated Republican principles at a moment when the fear of arbitrary power will be diminished by the humiliation of France. The Whigs are at this moment on good terms with the Court. We are not sorry for it; for we seek and desire the welfare of the nation and the agreement of parties in one same principal ob-

ject, which will also be the security of the succession; and we flatter ourselves that the nation also will not neglect the interests and the dignity of that House, and those persons who are among the nearest in the Protestant line. We shall see whether the conditions of the Union will be approved in Scotland. The great success which God has granted to the Queen and the Prince-Duke of Marlborough, her General, will give great support to the plans of the Court, and it is to be hoped that those plans will always be just.

I do not speak to you of the little quarrel between the Court of Gottorp and the Count of Ranzau, who complains of being dispossessed by violence; and the Imperial Court commands that he shall be restored before everything else. Sweden having the directory in this Circle at present has taken the baillage in question into sequestration. This the Count pretends can never take place except when the possession is in dispute: but it can take place also when there is *metus armorum*.

I am, Sir, etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

171.] PETERBOROUGH TO ADMIRAL WASSENAER.

Campo Robles, Aug. 25th, 1706, N.S.

Sir,

I have receiv'd but one Letter from the Fleet since I saw you; (by the wise management I have always apprehended would ruine us) the country all round were up in arms against us, and all communication was prevented, and about two Hund officers and soldiers murder'd in all the places of Castille wherever they were found marching up to joine the Army.

Our circumstances, in a few words, are brought to this: from being sure of the Monarchy of Spaine without a Blow, without further Expence or hazard, it's now, not only a doubtfull case, but I fear worse, Our army in the midst of an Enemy's country (as 't has been manag'd) without Magazines, without any place of Strength, without Bread, or a Farthing of mony, the com-

munication being cut off with Portugal, the Enemy stronger in Horse, and almost equal in Foot: we lost Madrid like Fooles, with our Army superiour in number without a blow, and such confusion and want of discipline was neaver known, the Troopes subsisting upon nothing but Rapine.

These are the effects of a young Prince's giveing ear to such wretched Creatures, who, contrary to such solemn Councels of War, and measures so unanimously agreed to, contrary to the Protestations of Ambassadors and Ministers, the repeated instances of Generals and all mankind, have lost, perhaps, such an empire to their Prince, by carrying him up and downe selling offices, and picking up little Summs of Mony in exchange for Peru and Mexico.

But besides these fatal delays, when a Prince could not be persuaded in two months time to come and take a Crowne the Generals of the army have, if possible, exceeded the mistakes of the Court. There were two ways certain to secure the Monarchy of Spaine; one was marching forwards, and pushing the Horse over the Hebro, before the Foot could joyne them; the other was takeing a proper camp near Madrid, and fortifying it, and making magazines out of the Mancha, and those fertile places of Castille behind them abounding in Corne.

But in stead of these they stay'd ten days at Madrid, neai thirty at Guadalaxara, and let an army steal upon them, without the least notice, pass 'em by, so as to take their ovens and provisions, and declare for K. Philip with Five Hund Horse.

When I came to the army I found them starveing, some for fighting under the most desperate circumstances in the world, for this only reason, that 'twas better to dye by the sword than hunger; but I believe some were for any hazard to recover the fatal steps they had made. I offer'd with 5000 men to attempt what I thought would recover all, it was agree'd to by all the Generals, but when at night I came to the King for orders to march he told me, 'tomorrow;' next night I was told a great Councel wou'd meet in the morning, there I was inform'd they had not a day's bread to give me for a march

of ten leagues, and so other measures were taken to seek for bread.

In this instant the happy Messenger came, who brought me orders to repair to the Fleet, and take that command upon me, towards the Execution of what I shall inform you of as soon as I arrive, which will be with the utmost diligence.

The success I have had in takeing Cuença, the strongest place by nature I ever saw, with a few troopes that were marching up with Windham, the recovering all this part of Castille, and burning the Townes where they had murder'd any men, and pillag'd all my baggage, and this with eighty Horse, marching for above a Hund miles in an enemy's country, where thousands were up in arms, seems something surprizeing; but however I have had the good fortune to escape, and am come past danger upon the borders of Valencia.

I am glad you've had such good fortune at Alicant, and that the success is owing to the extraordinary Mettle of the seamen, who attempted a breach that was no ways practicable, and made the soldiers asham'd not to support 'em. I hope to see you in a little time; in the mean while, tell my Lord Dursley, that Landola was as lucky a word in Castille, as the little Whigg in Valencia; our liveing Saints directed us better, than the dead ones did our monarch. I hope you did us reason. We depend upon 't, you pledge us sometimes, when we remember them about the Toasting hours. Sir,

Your most humble and affectionate Servant,

PETERBOROW.

172.] DORSET TO HALIFAX.

Hanover, Sept. $\frac{7}{17}$, 1706.

My Lord,

'Tis now something more then a week since we came hither, and I should not have fail'd writeing to your L^p^ sooner but that I was willing to refer it till I could be pretty sure you were got into England; therefore without desending to par-

ticulars I shall begin with assureing you y^t everry body enquired verry kindly after your L^p, both old and young. Vans Barr is in town, but to my great affliction Bell Barr went into the Country the day before our arrival. You may depend upon all Falliso's letters from 'em to be entirely his own invention; and to his greater mortification I can assure you, they neither remembred him nor his name, till I described him by certain marks peculiar to himself. I can't help telling you that when I first came hither there was an od kind of woman that was continually with the Electress and hardly ever seen any where but in her Closet; 'twas the business of the whole Court to find out who she was, but the secret was so well kept that no creature could give any account of her till after she was gone, and then it came out that she was our little Robust freinds Bastard, who for haveing committed some inormities at Berlin, was forc'd to leave y^t place with an intention to go over to her father *incognito*. The Ministers here look as solem as ever; they are at present employ'd about a knotty point entirely oweing to your L^p. The affair is briefly this, Upon the arrival of the swords you sent to the two pages that waited upon you, Oberg desired that a stop might be put to the delivery of them till they had met about it; and accordingly when they were assembled he urged that in his opinion the swords had better be sold, and the value of them equally distributed to all the pages; however nothing was resolv'd that day, but the Counsel ajorn'd to the next, and then they order'd bothe the swords to [be] laid before them, and after a considerable debate, they deputed Baron Rupton and another to go to Mr. How and ask him what he immagin'd to be your L^ps intention; you may be sure he was very clear in the matter, and thought the boys had got them long before. This story he told me when I came to town, and at that time thought the matter was quite over; but upon enquirey it seems the Counsel is once more to meet about it, and the poor boys are still in pain least it should go against them: this may seem verry extraordinary even to your L^p, that has some knowledge of 'em, but I'le assure you 'tis true to a letter. Mr. Lumley and Mr. Smith both present their

humble services to you, and if I can be any way serviceable to your L^p^ in these parts, I hope you'l lay your commands upon one who would be glad of any opportunity to shew with how much sincerity he is

Your L^ps^ most oblydge'd humble Servant,

DORSET.

If your L^p^ favours me with a Letter, pray direct it to Drummonds in Amsterdam.

173.] ALVENSLEBEN TO LEIBNITZ (*Extract*).

October 9th, 1706.

The battle between the Swedes and the Saxons has made more noise than its real importance merited. The Diet of the Estates in Saxony has been put off. The Ministry pretends to the Direction, and it appears that it is flattering the Swedes that it will facilitate the levies of money which they demand; but this is in effect to concur in the ruin of the country, seeing that the object of the said Ministry is so to regulate the imposts as to supply at the same time the pressing need of King Augustus, which one may call lighting the candle at both ends at once. Mme the Electress Dowager of Saxony and the Electoral Prince are on the point of decamping from Magdeburg, to seek another asylum in the States of the King of Denmark. This is quite as much for fear of the intrigues of some of the Ministers, as for any which they have of the Swedes; and as they complain that no one will give them a plain answer about the protection which they have demanded here and there, they think the best way to be in safety is to put a rampart of some forty leagues' breadth between themselves and those they have to fear. They place the most of their hope in the Queen of England, who, as I learn, appears favourably enough disposed towards them, by the means of Prince George, the uncle and brother of the said illustrious refugees.

174.] STEPNEY TO MR. SECRETARY HARLEY (*Extract*).

From the Camp at Cambran, Oct. 24th, 1706.

I can make no Judgement of the King of Sweden's intentions. The Courts of Berlin and Hannover seem satisfied with his eating up Saxony, if his appetit goe no further; But of that there is no other security than the good opinion they are pleased to entertain of him, notwithstanding they know his Ministers to be generally in the French Interest. As to the Emperour, he apprehends the worst, but is oblig'd to dissemble and hide those Jealousies, least he shou'd provoke and draw upon himself the Lyon, which is broke loose, and is at Liberty (as the Empire is now compos'd) to devour any part of it without Restraint; whereby the Allies may have reason to reflect That they have been too indulgent by allowing Him to grow too bigg for them; and I cannot think the House of Hannover will have Interest enough to lead him home again quietly, unless King Augustus consents to abdicate, which proposal, you may imagine, will not be easily digested. I can scarce believe either the Kings of Sweden or Prussia carry their views so farr as to be Kings of the Romans. I dare venture to assure you Hungary has been offer'd to both of them, and is likely to fall to one of their shares, if the Impe-riall Court does not soon change Maxims. For this suspicion I have very good ground and authority; and therefore thought it my Duty to warn the Emperour of the Danger at my last Audience; which advice he accepted very graciously, and I hope it may in time have a good effect on him, if some of his Ministers would allow him to be a free Agent.

175.] LEIBNITZ TO LORD RABY (*Extract*).

Hanover, July 1st, 1707.

My Lord,

Although I saw the three Kings in Saxony, I saw nothing worthy of being told your Excellency, or which you do not

know better already. The King of Sweden had set out to review his troops dispersed throughout the country, and the administrator of Holstein had run more than forty leagues after him without being able to catch him. At the moment when the King returned I was at Altranstadt, and I saw him at dinner; that lasted a full half hour, but his Majesty did not say a single word during his dinner, and never raised his eyes but once, when a young Prince of Würtemberg, seated at his left hand, began to play with the dog, which he left off doing the moment he caught that look. One may say that the physiognomy of the King is very good, but his demeanour and dress are those of the troopers of the old school. Having waited above a week for his return, I could not stay any longer, although hopes were held out to me that I might have an audience of his Majesty, as the young Count Platen and M. Fabricius the younger, who arrived just as I was about to start, have since had. But what should I have been able to say to him? He does not like to hear his own praises, even when they are just, and he does not talk of business; but he speaks very well about military matters, as I have been assured by M. de Schulenburg, who had an audience of nearly two hours of him. M. the Comte de Fleming had also an audience of him a little before my arrival at Leipzig, and remained to dine with his Majesty, who even continued the conversation after dinner, and gave proof of his being in very good humour by making jokes. Your Excellency will have seen a printed account of the King's dancing at the marriage of one of his Generals, but I was already gone when this solemnity was celebrated. I saw King Stanislaus when he was at General Rheinschild's; he is a good-looking Prince, and seems very reasonable. The young Count Platen was to pay him a compliment on the part of the Elector. I also spoke to several considerable persons in the Chancery of the King of Sweden, who gave me to understand that the King their master would never consent that King Augustus should continue to take the name and arms of King of Poland, and that the King, although, as they thought, he had great reason to

complain of the Emperor, especially on the subject of the Muscovites who had escaped, would probably take no notice of it in order to show his moderation; but nobody could get the slightest hint, as long as I was at Leipzig, how it would be about the retreat of the Swedes, so deeply desired as it was by the people. People who are well-informed have assured me that at the beginning the country might have made an arrangement with the Swedes for three millions of crowns, but that M. Imhof prevented this, believing that any treaty between the Swedes and the Estates of the country would be prejudicial to the authority of the King his master; as if there could have been no means to find a middle way, and as if the Ministers could not have made their treaty in a sense conformable to the general feeling of the Estates; however the affair having been given over to the discretion of the Swedes, they have got about twice as much out of it. While I was at Leipzig, the treaty about the county of Mansfeld was settled between the King Augustus and the Elector my master; but the King Augustus cedes it to the Elector, only reserving a right to repurchase his authority.

L.

176.] AGOSTINO, BISHOP OF SPIGA, TO THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

Düsseldorf, October 22, 1707.

Madame,

As M. de Norris has given me to understand, through several of his letters, that your E. H. desired to know thoroughly in what way the person who calls himself Toland succeeded in getting from his E. H. my master the letter which he has presented to you on his part; and a friend of mine, who called upon me on other subjects, having by accident given me some hint upon this matter, in which he himself is not a little concerned, seeing that the said Toland has been recommended to him from London, I think it my duty to tell your E. H. the whole story, which is pretty enough. Thus it is:—To-

land went and looked out this friend of his, and told him that, having been in England the greatest and the first promoter of the succession, and the man who drew out the deduction of the rights of your E. H., he had since been at the Court of Hanover, where he had been regaled with I do not know how many medals of high price; but that, having been extremely well received by your E. H. (as one might well believe), he had had long and secret conferences with your Highness, and had taken long walks with you. This had made him a great many enemies, as well in Hanover as in England, where they had taken him for a Hanoverian spy, on account of his attachment to the Serene House; so that in fact he would not dare to return again to Hanover without some pretext; that he should nevertheless find it extremely necessary to return there in the interest of the Most Serene House, for which he found himself obliged to make a tour to Hanover and Berlin, in order to be present on the first of this month at the opening of Parliament; and that the said pretext might be given him by a letter from his E. H. to your Serene Highness,—a letter simply of civility, and which should mean no more than that his E. H. is well satisfied with him, and has received good services from him. Upon this the letter was asked for, drawn up, and sent to me to sign, as I have already written to M. de Norris. This, Madame, is all that was wanting to give the proper turn to the romance. If I had known it sooner, you may be perfectly certain that I should have given myself the pleasure to communicate it to you, for this bit of history seems to me worthy of your S. H.'s curiosity. In order to finish my letter with something of much more importance, your E. H. will permit me to express the extreme joy with which I have learnt the return of M. the Elector to his capital; and the assurance that there is nothing which equals the profound respect with which I am, Madame, etc. etc.,

A., Bishop of Spiga.

177.] Louise Hollandine, Abbess de Maubuisson, to the Electress Sophia.

Nouembre 14, 1707.

Ie suis persuadée, Ma chere Sœur, que vous ne serez pas fasché de receuoir par moy mesme des nouuelles de ma santé; c'est pourquoy ie me fais vne ioye de vous en donner, et ie vous en parle comme de quelque chose de bien important; il l'est p^r^ le moins autant à chacune de nous comme des affaires des autres, de quoy à nos ages on se soucie fort peu. Je me porte pres qu'à mon ordinaire a lheure qu'il est. Je fus hier à l'Eglise, p^r^ y entendre vn fort bon sermon; je me douttois qu'il seroit tel, parcque ie connois le predicateur p^r^ homme raisonnable et bon chrestien, et point du tout comedien en chaire. Ie reuins sans estre fatiguée, quoyque i'eusse esté leuée assez matin. Iattends le premier beau soleil p^r^ y aller exposer mes membres, et me promener à laide du prochain qvi me donne la main; en attendant je prens lair à la fenestre, et voy arriuer de loin ceux qui viennent me faire des complimens sur ma meilleure santé, de quoy ie suis encore plus aise qu'eux, parceque quand on n'a point a mourir on est assez aise d'estre hors la maladie. Il y en a vne certaine de laquelle on ne guerira point, et on ne sait jamais laquelle sera; cest pourquoy il faut touiours conter sur cette derniere; quand on s'est mepris, ce sera p^r^ vne autre fois. Vous auez à lheure quil est vne cour chez vous, parceque ie voy dans vre lettre du 1er de 9bre Madame labbesse dont v^s^ me faittes la description n'a pas grandes pratiques de couuent a garder à ce que ie vois, et la croix attachée à vn cordon bleu ne lincommode gueres. Ie suis etonnée de lopinion que tient Mr de Libnitz, que les bestes ont vne ame immortelle; il y auroit bien des choses à repliquer à cela, qui ie croy lembarasseroient. Le liure quil vous a preté à lire contient des faits plus incontestables que son opinion sur lame des bestes, quoyque ie croiye bien quelles ne sont pas sans attention. Iobserue celle de ma chatte, qui en toutes choses cherche sa commodité: depuis que ie ne mange plus

au refectoir, elle vient sur ma table et me fait fort bien entendre ce quelle veut. Les chiens de nre clos ont encore plus d'esprit, et je m'attens bien à en estre lechée a outrance si je vas les voir tantost. Je vis il y a quelques années un vieux liure dancien françois, qui contient la vie de la Princesse D'orange, nre grande mere, qui a esté vne prudentissime de son tems; il y a toute la description des intrigues de ce tems la contre nre Maison, que lauteur apelle des hapelourdes, ce qui ie croy veut dire des tromperies. Il marque comme lElecteur, nre Grand Pere, estoit vne partie de la iournée à table, et qu'on en servoit 33 par iour. Madame me fit voir ce liure, qui est à vne bibliotheque de Paris. La gasette de Hollande marquera sans doutte la ceremonie faitte à Vienne quand on a presenté à la Princesse Elizabeth le portrait de Monsieur l'Archiduc; il sera luy bien content apparemment quand on luy fera voir celuy de la Princesse, que l'Imperatrice appelle la belle Princesse; cest vn double bonheur que S. M. Imperiale ait du gout pour sa future belle sœur. Quelle pitié si la pauure Mlle de lasson est deuenue ethique, ce qu'on pretend icy ne guerir iamais, et conduire lentement et douloureusement à la mort. Vous ay ie dit que la ueuue du duc Dalbermale, qui l'a aimé avec tant de passion et qui la tant pleuré, s'est remariée depuis peu, de quoy son pere et sa mere sont fort fachez; elle a vne fille de son premier mary, qu'elle croit Princesse.

178.] LEIBNITZ TO LORD RABY (*Extract*).

Hanover, December 29, 1707.

I think that Mr. Toland will have had the honour of seeing your Excellency, and that he will have shown you what the Elector Palatine has given him, and what this Prince has written in his favour to Madame the Electress of Brunswick. This Elector had an object of his own to serve, which was to get something published that might help to disabuse the English who have looked upon him as a persecutor of the Protestants; and a Minister whom he has in England thought Mr.

Toland's pen fitted for this purpose. Mr. Toland then having this claim upon the Prince, and having for some time past entertained the design of making his reappearance again in Germany, has thought this a good opportunity. He has insinuated to us here that since the change of Ministry in England he is in favour at Court, that he is employed by the Ministers, and that he has relations with even the Duke of Marlborough; but as he has given us no proofs of this credit of his, we have remained with him on the ordinary footing. Some people believe that he is in favour with Mr. Harley, Secretary of State. He showed me a letter in which he was strongly recommended to M. Lindlo: I know that this letter came from a M. Sanson, a Frenchman, who was formerly with Mr. Lindlo at Berlin, and has since been with M. de Hersum, and employed in the affair of Münster. Mr. Toland told me he was going on the Queen's service; that he should pass through Berlin, and should shortly return hither.

I gave him a letter which he requested of me for the Grand Chamberlain, in which I merely mentioned that Mr. Toland professed now to be on good terms with his Court. I should be inclined to believe that this personage might be employed with advantage if he would change his tone and manners: modesty and uprightness added to good sense are better qualifications for business than all the liveliness in the world which gives itself airs of freedom. He protests to me that he has made it up with the Theologians: all the better for him. This is what I advised him to do the first time I saw him, on occasion of my Lord Macclesfield's embassy; perhaps he will return by way of Berlin.

179.] LORD RABY TO LEIBNITZ (*Extract*).

Berlin, January 17th, 1708.

You must not look at every speech either in the Upper or Lower House in order to judge of the feeling of the na-

tion, because everybody makes a speech according as he has his own affairs to settle with the Ministry; and the true reason that some of the Whigs spoke out at the beginning of this session was that they were disgusted with the Queen's determination to make some new Bishops who were not of their party, although men of very moderate views; and so they had threatened before the session began that if the Queen did not retract her promise to those Bishops they would oppose all the wishes of the Court; and especially that they would show up the Admiralty in such a way that the Prince should be obliged to give up his post of High Admiral. But after they saw that the Queen would not retract, and that the Tories were ready to fall in with the Court, and that they could make nothing out of the complaints of the merchants, they were afraid of putting the Queen and Ministry too much out of temper, as these made a pretence of reconciling themselves with the Tories. This is the reason MM. the Whigs returned to their duty, and are ready at this moment to do everything, although the Queen seems still disposed to moderate men. My Lord Peterborough, they say, made a very clever speech in the Lords; and among other things he said that he was so convinced of the necessity of having a good army in Catalonia that he should vote for having one there even though it were to have the misfortune to be commanded by my Lord Galway. But you see what pains we are taking to have Prince Eugene there; although I doubt whether these will succeed, because the Emperor seems to me not to trouble himself about any other conquest of the French except Sicily: the rest, they reckon at Vienna is more for our convenience than their own, their wish being to unite their Italian possessions with their others in Germany, which would make the House of Austria greater than if it had Spain separately: for I do not think that the Princes of the Empire will suffer Charles the Third, like Charles the Fifth, to be both Emperor and King of Spain together, and it is only too evident that Joseph will never have any children.

Mr. Toland has given himself no small airs on the strength of your letter, for he carried it open in his hand the first time

he visited the Grand Chamberlain, and told everybody that it was a letter from Madame the Electress. He would have been glad to have persuaded them here also that he was employed by the English Ministry. But I have put a stop to all that, and Mr. Harley himself has written to me that so far from having any commission from him, he made difficulties in giving him a passport to leave England, not knowing what business he could possibly have abroad; that it is true that for some time he suffered him in his company, as a man reputed to have a good deal of reading, but that he was very far from ever having had any friendship for or confidence in him. I asked the man to dine with me in order to hear him talk, never having seen him before and having heard that he had a great deal of talent; but I found the devil was not so black as he was painted. He made the same use of Sanson's letter to Lindlo that he did of yours; for he told everybody that it was a letter from M. Hersum himself, with whom he pretends to be on terms of great familiarity and friendship. I should have taken much more interest in this man if he had not been so much given to lying, for he told me things which I myself happened to know quite otherwise. He presented me his book in justification of the Elector Palatine, which is false with respect to many facts of sufficient notoriety; but as it was for the English he thought there would be no one capable of contradicting him. I believe that he will return this way, and that they will make him some present or other, because formerly he wrote a book in which he said a good deal in praise of the King. This book was translated, and he has promised to write another which shall be better. I believe he is just now at Vienna, but he does not go to our Envoy's there; for the Chevalier writes to me that he is there, but that he has not seen him yet.

180.] Louise Hollandine, Abbess of Maubuisson, to the Electress Sophia (*Extract*).

Le 8me de Mars, 1708.

[After describing her ailments, etc., she continues:] Cela

n'est gueres poly de vous prendre pour un medecin, et de vous parler medicine, mais vs n'en serez pas scandalisée, parceque Dieu ns. a appris qu'il a etably la nature humaine auec tous ces assujettissemens. Il y a icy vn grand euenement: le Roy D'angleterre partit hier pour Dunkerque, et delà descendre en Escosse, S'il plait à Dieu, comme dit L'apostre St Jaques, car c'est là où ce 'Sil plait à Dieu' est bien necessaire. Toujours sera-t-il vray que ce jeune Prince aura par deuers luy la ioye de lesperance et celle dun voyage agreable; à son age florissant, beau, bien fait, aimable et dvne humeur a souhait, il ne luy manque qu'une meilleure situation, et cest qui depend de la providence. Si elle destine le Mareschal de Barwick aux mesmes succez que le General Monk, cela sera glorieux pour luy. Il ny a plus quasi que vous et moy, chere sœur, qui sommes bonnes à parler de ces histoires la, car ns les auons vues, et les jeunes gens qui ne les ont fait que lire nous prennent aussy pour des chroniques. Je plains cependant les inquietudes que va auoir la pauure Reine, qui va se renfermer à prier Dieu. I'ay enuoyé auiourdhuy luy faire mon compliment, mais vous saurez toutes ces nouuelles-là meiux que nous. Si on alloit de plein pied où on assure, le cas seroit bien different; mais la jeunesse et la santé sont des biens pour ce monde cy, qui dedommagent des autres. Madame vous aura fait donner soigneusement de ses nouuelles, sans doutte; les miennes sont comme à mon age apartient. J'ay besoin de la ioye de receuoir des votres, et je vous les demande à vre premier loisir.

181.] LORD RABY TO LEIBNITZ (*Extract*).

Berlin, [*April?*] 24*th*, 1708.

As to what you write to me of Toland, I admire his assurance, but certainly he has more impudence than all his countrymen put together; and I could not refrain from letting Chevalier Meadows know what Toland has been boasting of his confidential correspondence with him, but without telling him from whom I had my information; and as soon as he

sends me an answer I will not fail to send it to you, if it is worth the trouble. It is quite certain that, when he returned from Vienna, he had no terms of abuse strong enough for the Chevalier; but finding that was not to my taste, he changed his tone; and having left this place on bad terms with me, he has thought it necessary to talk of his confidential intercourse with at least some of the Queen's Ministers, and I believe that Mr. Howe has always avoided him.

182.] LEIBNITZ TO TOLAND.

Hanover, April 30th, 1709.

On my return I received the present of your book, together with the honour of your letter, and I thank you for it. My absence has been a long one, otherwise I would have answered you sooner. There are some good remarks in all your works, and I can readily believe with you that Livy was nothing less than superstitious. M. Huet, in applying the fables of the Pagans to Moses, was more anxious to show his erudition than his accuracy, of which nevertheless he has given good evidence on other occasions; and his book upon the 'Démonstration Évangélique' does not fail to be very instructive, although he runs riot in it in his showing up of mythologies. You are quite right to give great praise to Herodotus. Strabo is a grave author; but when he speaks of Moses, he appears to study the actions and opinions of that legislator according to the chimerical prejudices of the Greeks. Apparently he had only confused notions on the subject, and he is manifestly mistaken in believing that the Temple of Jerusalem was the work of Moses, that the neighbours of the Hebrews had customs similar to theirs, and that circumcision and the prohibition of certain meats among the Jews was posterior to Moses. I do not know also if you have found, Sir, in the language of the Copts or Egyptians, that it does agree with that of the Phœnicians and Arabs, as you say at page 145. The late M. Acoluthus of Breslau thought that it agreed with

that of the Armenians, but his proofs never satisfied me; it is a language very different from any other that we know.

As for the object you propose to yourself, I grant that we cannot crush superstition enough, provided at the same time that we supply the means of distinguishing it from true religion; otherwise we run the risk of involving the one in the ruin of the other, in the eyes of men who rush easily into extreme opinions, as we have seen it happen in France, where bigotry has made devotion itself an object of suspicion: for a verbal distinction is not enough. Hence I hope that you will be inclined to clear up the truth as earnestly as you have laboured to destroy the false.

You frequently refer, Sir, to the opinion of those who think that there is no other God or Eternal Being than the world itself,—that is to say, matter and its connection (as you explain it at p. 75), without the necessity that this Eternal Being should be intelligent (p. 156); a sentiment which, according to you, Strabo attributes to Moses, and which you yourself attribute to the philosophers of the East, and particularly to those of China (p. 118); and you even go so far as to say (p. 115) that we may apply to it (but only equivocally) *the perfect Being*, the *Alpha* and *Omega*, that which has been, is, and is to be, that which is all in all, in which we are and move and have our being,—all formularies found in the Scriptures. But as this opinion, which you yourself profess to reject, is as pernicious as it is unfounded, it would have been to be wished, Sir, that you had not repeated it without a suitable refutation of it, which perhaps you mean to give us on some other occasion; however it would always be better not to administer the antidote too long after the poison. And to tell the truth, it does not appear that the greater number of those among the ancients and moderns who have spoken of the world as God, have believed this God destitute of knowledge. You know that Anaxagoras united intelligence with matter. The Platonists conceived a soul of the world, and it appears that the doctrine of the Stoics came to the same point; so that, according to them, the world was a kind of animal or

living being, the most perfect possible, and of which all individual bodies could only be looked upon as the limbs. Strabo also understands the case thus in the passage which you quote. The Chinese themselves, and other Orientals, conceive certain spirits of heaven and earth; and it is possible that there may be some even among ourselves who conceive a Supreme Spirit of the universe; so that the difference between all these philosophers (particularly the ancients) and the true theology would consist in this, that according to us and the truth, God is above the corporeal universe, and is both its maker and its master, *Intelligentia supramundana;* while the God of these philosophers is only the soul of the world, or even the animal which results from it; however their *whole*, πᾶν, was not without intelligence, any more than our Supreme Being. Mme the Electress is accustomed to quote and praise particularly that passage of Scripture that demands whether it is consistent with reason that the author of the eye should not see, and the author of the ear should not hear (Psalm xciv. 9); that is to say, that there should be no knowledge in the first Being, from whom all others derive their knowledge. And, strictly speaking, if there is no universal intelligence in the world, we cannot conceive it as a substance truly *one;* it would be nothing but an *aggregate*, an assemblage, as a flock of sheep might be, or a pond full of fish. Hence, to make of it an eternal substance, deserving of the name of God, would be a mere play upon words, and a clothing of nothing in fine expressions. The error vanishes as soon as we give proper consideration to the results (too much neglected) of the great principle, that there is nothing for which there is not a reason, which determines why it is as it is, and not otherwise than it is; which compels us to pass beyond all that is material, because the reasons of the determinations cannot be found therein.

The two works, one in Latin and the other in Italian, which Giordano Bruno published on the Universe and the Infinite, and which I read long ago, show that this author did not want penetration; but unhappily he went beyond the just limits of reason. He dabbled also in the chimeras of Ray-

thond Lully's art. I have never read his 'Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante;' I rather think that some one spoke to me about it in France, but I cannot be sure, it is too long ago. Ought not one to write Specchio instead of Spaccio? M. de la Croze tells me that you have shown him this book. M. the Electress, thank God, is still well; she has just lost her sister, the Abbess of Maubuisson, who was much older than herself, and who retained her health up to her last year. I believe that M. the Electoral Prince will be present again at the next campaign. I am, with zeal, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

LEIBNITZ.*

183.] LEIBNITZ TO LORD RABY.

1710.

[After stating that he had been engaged in an unsuccessful attempt to secure the books and manuscripts of the deceased Marquard Gudius, for the Library of the Duke of Wolfenbüttel, he goes on to say:] Ces Manuscrits ont été offerts aussi au Roy de Dannemarc, maître du feu collecteur; mais ce prince a besoin de faire faire grand nombre de selles, pour remonter la cavallerie revenue de Scanie, et même les selliers de Bronsvic, loués par ceux de Hambourg, luy en fournissent. Il y a de l'apparence qu'il réussira enfin à reprendre la Scanie, parce que les Suédois seront obligés, ce semble, de tourner tous leurs efforts du costé de la Finlande, dont la perte leur doit estre bien plus sensible. Elle fait une bonne partie de leur anciennes forces, et un ennemi, qui la possède, peut pénétrer aisément dans les viscères du Royaume de Suède; car le trajet de la mer est petit, et en hyver on y peut passer souvent sur

* The book referred to in this letter was Toland's 'Adeisidæmon, sive Titus Livius a Superstitione vindicatus,' which appeared at the Hague in 1709. This grave letter of Leibnitz is a very serious rebuke to any expectation Toland may have had of establishing an influence with the Electress in favour of his infidel views.

la glace. Outre que Stockholm tire de la Finlande une bonne partie de sa provision, La Finlande d'ailleurs est fort détachable de la Suède par deux grandes raisons: l'une, que la mer les sépare; l'autre, que la langue des Finnoniens est aussi différente de la Suédoise, que la langue Suédoise est différente de celle des Russes. La Finnonienne est toute particulière, et il n'y a que la Hongroise, de toutes celles de l'Europe, qui en approche: au lieu que la Russienne, ou Moscovite, convient avec la Polonnoise ou Bohémienne, comme la Suédoise, dans le fond, n'est qu'un dialecte de la langue Allemande; plus aisé à entendre à nos gens, que le vieux Allemand ne l'est aux Allemands modernes. En disant cela je fâchois votre Monsieur Leyenstat, que j'apprends avoir quitté la Cour de Berlin. Notre Monsieur Frisendorf va partir aussi, et il a déjà pris congé à Wolfenbutel, où il avoit à négotier avec le duc Antoine, à l'égard des affaires du Cercle de la Basse Saxe, dont ce prince est un des directeurs. M. Frisendorf est un peu allarmé du traité qu'on a fait à Hanover avec le Czar et avec le Roy de Dannemarc. Mais ces traités n'ont pour objet que ce qui a esté réglé à Ratisbonne et à la Haye, sur la neutralité des provinces Allemandes des Suédois, et tend au bien même de la Suède; à laquelle il semble que tous les Alliés voudroient conserver ces provinces, puisque le Roy de Prusse même, porté par des sentimens de droiture, n'a pas fait la moindre démarche qui marque l'envie que feu l'Électeur, son père, auoit, de posséder la Poméranie entière; mais que le Roy de Suède, s'il est obéi, renversera peut-être toutes ces mesures, et forcera le Roy de Prusse, malgré luy pour ainsi dire, à reprendre la partie de Poméranie qui luy manque. Car on pourroit venir à une rupture, en cas que le corps de Crassau voulut repasser par les pays Brandebourgeois, pour rentrer en Pologne. Il semble, selon l'équité naturelle, que les Alliés, ne voulant pas souffrir le retour des troupes de Crassau en Pologne, au moins par terre, parce que cela pourroit attirer les Moscovites et les Polonnois dans l'Empire, devroient leur faciliter le moyen de repasser en Suède. Car je doute que les Suédois veuillent s'en défaire tout de bon, n'ayant que trop besoin de soldats,

dans l'état dangereux où ils se trouvent. Quoyqu'il court un bruit que les Turcs soyent disposés à rompre avec les Moscovites, il semble qu'il n'est pas assés fondé; et M. Fabrice, gentilhomme envoyé de l'Administrateur de Holstein-Gottorp, écrivant de Bender à son père, qui est un des Ministres d'état de l'Électeur de Bronsvic, ne marque pas cela. Mais il paroist que les Turcs sont disposés à favoriser le Roy de Suède indirectement; car il leur importe beaucoup sans doute, que ce Prince puisse remonter sur sa bête, et donner des affaires au Czar. Et la France travaille sans doute à la Porte, pour faire valoir ces considérations. On croit que ces brouilleries du Nord, et l'espérance que la France en a conçue, a contribué à la rupture du traité de Gertruydenberg. J'espère que cette couronne se trompera, et qu'elle se sera flatté aussi en bâtissant des grandes espérances sur les animosités qu'on remarque dans votre grande et belle isle. Je suis persuadé que ce n'est pas pour l'amour des beaux yeux de Madame l'Église Anglicane, ny par les charmes de la Presbytérienne, sa sœur cadette, que tout ce remue-ménage se fait. Le parti qui est le plus favorisé de la Cour, ordinairement ne garde point de mesures avec les autres, et veut avoir toutes les charges et toutes les grâces pour les siens. Mais par là il se charge de la haine publique, qui oblige enfin la Cour meme de l'abandonner; laquelle d'ailleurs peut avoir ses raisons pour favoriser ce changement. Dieu nous garde seulement de ceux qui sont dans les extrémités des deux partis, et qui ont véritablement les sentimens dont l'un parti est chargé par l'autre, c'est-à-dire des Jacobites et des Républicains; dont les premiers seroient fort à craindre si la Maison de Bourbon se réconcilioit avec la fortune; et les autres seroient aussi fort dangereux, si la France étoit mise tout à fait hors de considération. Car si Messieurs les Républicains n'avoient rien à appréhender de dehors, et se pouuoient véritablement considérer

"Ut penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos,"

peut-être ne chercheroient-ils point de Roy hors de leur pays, et peut-être même en voudroient-ils un qui n'en fût que l'ombre,

ou se mettroient tout à fait en République, pour practiquer l'*Oceana* de Harrington. J'applaudirois à l'établissement des Républiques, s'il y avoit moyen de rendre les hommes sages et vertueux ; car au défaut de cela, il faudroit les rendre stupides, pour leur oster l'esprit de discorde. Mais il est très difficile qu'un grand État, rempli de peuples aussi spirituels que ceux de votre isle, et aussi à leur aise, puisse passer du gouvernement d'un Roy à celuy d'une République, sans un bouleversement, et qu'il s'y puisse maintenir. Les Républiques qui se forment insensiblement, sont les plus durables ; on ne sauroit mieux juger de tout cela que V. E. le fait ; et vous avés raison de dire, My Lord, que la présente constitution de vostre gouvernement est la meilleure de l'Europe. Votre *Atalantis* paroist assés jolie ; mais je crois qu'elle outre un peu les choses, et blâme trop certaines personnes, comme font toutes les pièces satyriques. Je prends grande part à la joye de votre Cour au sujet de la naissance d'un nouveau Prince d'Orange. Je suis aussi bien aise d'apprendre que M. le Grand Chambellan* est

* Le Grand Chambellan, M. le Comte de Wartenberg, was at this time what we may call Prime Minister in Prussia. Unhappily he was ruled absolutely by his Countess, a person of low extraction and profligate disposition, who not only betrayed him into many mistakes, but so exasperated the Court of Berlin by her haughtiness and avarice, that she in 1711 caused the ruin of her husband. For a long while she was the reputed Mistress of the King of Prussia ; but those most nearly concerned in the affair, were assured that there was nothing of the sort between them ; and that the pretended connection was the result of nothing but the King's shame at being out of the fashion, and wish to have a mistress,—at that time an indispensable piece of palace furniture. Nevertheless for some time she exercised influence over the King, and particularly over all public affairs that were in her husband's hands. Even the Electress Sophia, mother of the Queen of Prussia, Sophia Charlotte, thought fit to pay court to the all-powerful Countess, and invited her to the Court of Hanover, a favour that appears to have overwhelmed the Great Chamberlain with gratitude and delight (see Feder, Sophie, p. 52, *seq.*). There is very little doubt that Madame de Wartenberg intrigued with Lord Raby, during his embassy at Berlin. In a letter to Leibnitz, Oct. 6, 1704, the Electress says : "J'auoue aisément que Mylord Raby n'a pas la même politesse que Mylord Duc de Marlborough : mais, comme il est de mes amis, je luy passe bien des petits

dans un état qui fait espérer qu'il sera bientôt entièrement remis. Dieu préserve les pays de Brandebourg de la peste qui les menace! J'espère que ce qu'il y a à Brentzlau ne sera que fièvres malignes; mais la frayeur assés souvent les fait tourner en peste. Il seroit difficile d'empêcher ce mal de passer l'Elbe, s'il prenoit une fois le dessus dans vos quartiers. Si la famine a pensé ruiner la France, la peste la pourroit sauver. Mais il faut espérer que Dieu ne luy fera point ce plaisir, funeste aux autres. La bataille donnée près de la Segra auroit des grandes suites en Espagne, si les circonstances étoient à la lettre comme on les débite icy. Nous sçaurons bientôt ce qui en est. Si le Roy Charles avoit à présent dix mille hommes de plus, il semble que l'affaire seroit faite. Mais la Grande-Bretagne et

défauts, qu'il a peut-être pris par la sympathie d'une, qui par sa naissance n'en sauroit trop auoir. Au moins suis-je fort persuadée que le mari de celle-ci fera toujours tout ce qu'il pourra, pour mériter les bonnes grâces de la Reine" (Feder, Sophie, p. 251). Pöllnitz however is not only perfectly aware of this intrigue, but tells a story about it, which is not the less amusing for being scandalous. According to him, the Countess had a mind to try whether Frederick Augustus really deserved his European reputation. He had visited Berlin with the King of Denmark, in hopes of forming an alliance with the King of Prussia, by means of which he might recover his throne in Poland, Charles XII. of Sweden being already involved in the misfortunes of his Russian invasion. The Countess seized the opportunity to make him the most violent advances, which he neglected, and treated with contempt. But being convinced that his wishes for the Prussian alliance could only be obtained through Wartenberg's influence, and this through the favour of the Countess, he resolved to visit her: how she received him and in what *négligé*, how she tempted, and even endeavoured to force him, is described by Pöllnitz; and how he was saved by the opportune appearance of Raby, whom the servants had not imagined to be included in the general order of 'Not at home to anybody.' "Entrez, entrez, entrez, Milord," cried the King, "vous n'êtes pas de trop!". The Countess, furious at the adventure, used all her influence to prevent the proposed alliance, which the battle of Pultava rendered unnecessary to the King of Poland (Galante Sachsen, pp. 230–233). After the fall of the Wartenbergs, she retired to Paris, where, according to Madame, she lived a vicious and disreputable life. See her letters to the Raugr. Louise, 18th July, 1715, 8th August, 1715 (Bibl. Stuttg., vi. 212, 213, 216).

la Hollande ont raison de s'attacher au gros de l'arbre, voyant, s'ils pouuoient percer dans la France, l'Espagne s'en ressentiroit par sympathie. Je souhaiterois au Roy Charles, à présent, une partie des trouppes, qui n'ont rien fait, et ne feront rien en Piémont. J'avois espéré cet esté l'honneur de faire la révérence à V. E., mais des empêchements l'ont défendu. Peut-être serois-je plus heureux l'année qui vient. Estant entièrement, My Lord, de V. E. etc. etc.,

L.

184.] LORD RABY TO LEIBNITZ.

Berlin, Fev^r ye 17th, 1711.

Monsieur,

J'ai manqué extreemement en n'ayant pas plûtot repondre à vos deux tres agreables et tres obligantes lettres; mais vous savés en partie ce que m'ait empeché, par les changemens fait à cette cour, où j'ai perdu assurement un bon ami; et sans faire tort aux autres, on peut dire que le plus honnet homme de la cour est parti, dans la personne du Grand Chambellan. Apres ce que j'ai vu en luy, et particulierement en ce qui estoit fait contre le Comte de Witgensteine, sans le permettre de repondre pour luy même,* vous ne serés pas surpris si je vous dis, que je rens grace à Dieu que je suis Anglois, et que je crie "Vive liberty and property!" Alors on sait ce qu'on a, et ce qu'on doit faire, pour conserver pour vous et vos heritiers, le bien que vous possedées. Depuis cette affaire j'ai pensé à moimême, que s'il estoit possible de depouiller un Roy de passion, et de le prier de raisonner meurement, il ne seroit pas difficile de luy prouver, que c'est pour son bien qu'on le lie les mains par des restrictions et bonnes loix; parce que c'est impossible, enfermés comme sont les plus part des Roys, qu'ils pouvent savoir le fonde d'une affaire, ou du caractere d'un homme; or, comme il y a des charges à gagner, il y aura toujours des gens qui les chercheroient, et les gens les plus industrieux sont ordinairement ceux qui sont le plus grand farbs

* Wittgenstein was sent to Spandau, and Wartenberg banished.

et fripons: ce sont ceux la qui tache le plus de s'insinuer aupres du maitre: ils etude avec soin, ce qui luy plait; on etude ses passions et inclinations: ses gens laissent aller tout autre chose, et ne visent qu'à ce seul bût: de sorte que c'est impossible que quasi le plus sage Roy du monde les echappe; et d'abord qu'un de ceux là gagne le faveur du Maitre, il impose sur luy, tout ce qu'il veut: et un bon Roy, croyant faire des juste et bonnes choses, peut faire les plus mechantes et plus injustes choses du monde. Or quand un bon Roy vient à reconnoitre celà, ne criera-t-il pas, 'On m'a trompé: d'où vient qu'on ne m'avoit pas dit, que j'allai faire des injustices?' et alors ce bon Roy repentiroit jusqu'à sa mort une violence ou une injustice qu'il ait commi inocentement. Or donc, si on disoit alors à un tel Roy: 'Sire, pourquoi voudriés vous etre le juge, sans entendre la cause? pourquoi voudriés vous punir un homme, sans l'avoir examiné au fond?' il vous repondroit, 'J'aurois trop à faire, d'examiner chaque chose moi même, ainsi il faut que je laisse l'examin à mes ministres.' On pourroit luy repondre: Que ses ministres sont balancés, ou par des passions, ou par d'interet, ou par de Haine, ou, le plus souvent, par une negligence; il prend la chose d'un autre, qui a interet de faire une insinuation contre celuy qui doit etre condamné; et comme cela un bon Roy peut faire suffrer un honnet homme, sans pourtant que ce bon Roy en estoit cause. Mais quand on diroit: 'Sire, fait faire des loix, et que chaque homme seroit jugé par des juges impartiel, et que son affaire seroit jugée au fond; alors vous etes sur de ne jamais condamner un innocent, et votre conscience seroit toujours tranquille; et qu'est ce que c'est que vous perdriés par ceci? seulement le pouvoir de faire du mal. Et pourquoi voudriés vous faire du mal à des honnet gens?—car les loix puniront les mechants:—faut il qu'un Roy ne se croit pas Roy, si il ne peut pas etre injuste, quand il veut? Parcequ'un Roy qui est limité, comme sont les notres en Angleterre, peut faire tout sort de bien, toute sorte de grace, même pardonner le plus grand scellerat de la terre: il est seulement empeché par des faux raports de faire du mal. Il me semble que tous

princes qui considere cette affaire, qui considere que rien ne sauroit, ni dans ce monde ci, ni dans celuy à venir, excuser la mort d'un inocent; et pourquoi ne voudroit on l'avoir, hors de leur pouvoir de le faire? il me semble qui c'est plûtot une chose à souhaiter par un Prince, que de luy deplaire. Et pourtant nous pourons raisonner jusqu'à demain, sans convaincre aucun Roy au monde. Et ceci seroit plus raisonnable que comme Mr de Lintelo, l'Envoyé d'Hollande, qui disputoit à la table avec le Roy, qu'une Republique estoit un gouvernement bien meilleure qu'une Monarchie.

Qu'en dites vous de la situation presente des affaires d'Europe? On nous crie pour les troupes de la nutralité, et nous sommes de si bons gens, que nous voudrions donner celles même du Roy Auguste, pour garder une nutralité, où il est luy meme un des Principaux, contre qui cete nutralité fut fait; et il n'est pas à doubter qu'il n'agisse avec impartialité, particulierement quand un point doit estre decidé entre luy même et les Suedois. Je voudrois bien savoir le sentiment de votre cour là dessus. Je viens d'avoir l'honneur que Monsr Du Chat m'a dedié Rablais, avec des notes: si son ouvrage a votre approbation, il seroit d'autant plus agreable à, Monsieur,

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur,

RABY.

185.] SCHULENBURG TO LEIBNITZ.

A la Haye, ce 4me Avril, 1711.

Monsieur,

Apres tant de temp sans avoir eu de vos lettres et de vos nouvelles, il sera permis de vous demander l'etat où vous vous trouvez, et de vous mander ce que je viens de faire. Mon frere Auguste eté fort chagriné des ennemis que nous avons l'un et l'autre à la Cour du Roy de Pologne, et que j'eus l'année passée mon pacquet aussi; je resolus dès alors de sortir de cette mer orageuse à quel prix que ce fût; depuis cela Flemming a eu le commandement des Troupes, qui m'avoit eté promis si souvent. J'ai donc fait sonder Flemming et

Wackerbart là dessus, leur faisant comprendre qu'il y alloit de leurs interest de me faire avoir ma dimission: ensuite j'ai pressé le Roy à me satisfaire, ou de permettre que je me retire hors de son service; ce que je viens d'obtenir, et même d'une maniere que j'ai lieu d'etre satisfait. On ne sçait quelques fois pas à quoy il est bon d'avoir des envieux et des ennemis: bref, on me paye tous mes arrerages, mes appointemens, et emoluments, jusqu'au premier de Maye, et $\frac{m}{12}$ ecus outre cela, de presant; et [me] voila libre comme un oiseau dans l'air. J'en suis plus resjouis et plus contant, que de tout ce qui me pouvoit arriver; car de me voir hors de cet embarras, de bonne grace, et de bonne maniere, en verité je ne le compte pas pour peu de chose. Je me serois retiré deja il y a six mois, mais Milord Duc, le Conseiller Pensionaire et le Prince Eugene m'en ont empeché, et les deux premiers m'ont grondé beaucoup du pas que je viens de faire: on voudroit même me racrocher, mais j'en ai, en verité, peu d'envie. Quand on sort sauf et seint avec honneur et reputation, de ce metier, que doit on chercher d'avantage? On n'acquerera jamais ni Royaume ni province; faut-il donc toute sa vie etre fol celié (?). Je prevois de terrible nouages qui environne la Saxe et la Pologne. Le Roy de Suede est plus à craindre que l'on ne croid: j'admire ce Prince aussi souvant que je songe à luy: il a des sentiments audessus du commun, tient sa vie pour rien: avouez que cela est de quoy faire un grand et tres dangereux homme.

Les affaires des Alliés sont fort embrouillées, et Milord Duc tres ambarassé. Si les ennemis sont sages, et qu'ils se tiennent sur leur garde, en se conservant en etat de s'opposer aux progres, où en serons nous? et n'a-t-il pas de l'apparence que leurs affaires se feront d'elles mesmes?

Je vous diray dans la suite ce que je vais devenir; peutêtre auray je bientost l'avantage de vous embrasser. Je suis en attendant, plus que personne, Monsieur,

Votre très humble et tres obeissant Serviteur,

SCHOULEMBOURG.

186.] Baron de Bothmer to the Electress Sophia.

A Londres, ce $\frac{10}{21}$*me Avril*, 1711.

Madame,

J'ay eu l'honneur de recevoir les lettres que Vostre Altesse Electorale m'a fait la grace de m'ecrire le 7 et 10me de ce mois. J'ay voulu rendre moy même au Dr. Hutton celle qui y estoit enfermée pour luy. Nous nous sommes manqué reciproquement, en nous cherchant l'un l'autre; jay laissé cependant la lettre entre les mains d'un de ses gens. Je luy suis fort obligé de la bonne idée qu'il donne à V. A. E. de moy; la bonté qu'Elle a de donner son approbation à ma conduite, m'anime pour en meriter la continuation. On ne peut pas mieux repondre que V. A. E. fait aux desirs qu'il luy a marqué pour la voir icy; plusieurs autres sont pour leur particuiller de son sentiment, mais cela ne suffit pas, il faudroit que la Reine elle même jugat la presence de V. A. E. necessaire, et qu'Elle l'invitat de venir, et que son entretien fût reglé par la nation. S. M. n'est pas sortie de sa chambre depuis ce qui est arrivé avec Guiscar, ayant eu tantôt la fievre et tantost la goutte. Elle se porte assés bien à cette heure, on croit qu'elle sortira bientost. Mr. Harlay se tient aussi au logis encor sans voir le monde; on dit que c'est par precaution, et qu'il est autant que gueri; aussi tost que je pourray luy parler je luy feray le compliment que V. A. E. m'a ordonnée pour luy. Je suis bien aise qu'Elle entre dans les raisons que je luy ay rapporté contre le voyage de Mme Chevan. Un Seigneur du Conseil à qui j'en parlois en confidence, me disoit, que les eaux de Bourbon luy conviendroient mieux, à son avis, que celles de Bath. On voudroient eloigner les Catoliques de Londres; cela ne paroist pas practicable, on les a conté à cette occasion, et on a trouué $\frac{m}{60}$ personnes de cette Religion dans cette Ville. On a resolu de l'enrichir encor de 50 eglises, pour ceux de la Religion Anglicane; il y en a desja un tres grand nombre, mais elles sont touttes basses et petites, comme des eglises de village, excepté celles de St. Pauls et de Westminster. Les ecclesiastiques auroient en même temps grand besoin d'une reforme, mais per-

sonne veut toucher icy à une corde si delicate; ils se melent tous de politique, c'est la morale qu'ils traitent dans leur sermon. On l'abolira d'autant moins que les deux partis croyent trouuer tour à tour leur conte dans cette metode. Elle est plus pardonnable à un ecclesiastique comme l'Eveque de Bristol, qui a passé une grande partie de sa vie dans les affaires; pour tirer V. A. E. aussi bien que la Reine même du doute qu'Elles ont fait paroistre à sa promotion, s'il scait precher encor, il a fait depuis peu un sermon, et l'a fait imprimer, dont il m'a donné un Exemplaire pour V. A. E., que j'ay envoyé à M. Robethon à la Haye, pour le luy faire tenir; s'il n'en trouue pas l'occasion plustost, il pourra se servir de celle de Mr Witworth, qui part aujourdhuuy d'icy pour la Haye, et ira ensuite par Hannover, Berlin, et Dresden, à la cour du Zaar, avec le caractere d'Ambassadeur de la Reine; c'est un fort joli homme par son esprit et par ses manieres; il s'arrestera quelques jours à la Haye. Je serois fort aise que les Souhaits de Mlle de Bahr fussent accomplis. Mr le Br. de Gortz m'a addressé une lettre pour Mr Pulteney, sans me dire que c'est d'elle; je la luy ay fait rendre et me suis offert pour faire tenir sa reponse; l'absence, dit on, est le pire de tous les maux d'amour. Je ne savois rien de cette affaire, et ne connois pas l'amant encor. Mr Kreienberg m'a dit que la somme que V. A. E. a de bon à cette heure aupres de luy, ne suffit pas pour un seul billet de la nouuelle lotterie, qui content 100 li. St. la piesse; je crois qu'il vaudra mieux garder icy cet argent, jusqu'à ce que la somme deviendra plus grande, n'y ayant qu'environ que 25 piesses de reste, à ce que Mr Kreienberg me dit. J'espere que nous apprendrons bientôt des heureuses nouvelles de Mme la Princesse Electorale; Dieu luy conserve les enfants qu'il luy a donné et en augmente heureusement le nombre! Je suis avec toute la vénération possible, Madame,

De vostre Altesse Electorale

Le tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur,

BOTHMER.

P.S.—Puisque V. A. E. me fait l'honneur de me demander

mon avis sur son argent mis dans la Lotterie de l'année passé, je joins icy un plan comment elle pourroit le changer et le mettre dans la nouvelle qui se fera. Elle verra par ce plan, ce qu'il y auroit à gagner d'une maniere et de l'autre. Si Elle goutte ce changement, ses ordres seront necessaires là desus sans aucun delais, puisque cette nouvelle Lotterie se formera incessament. Si elle ne goutte pas ce changement, ou si ses ordres viennent trop tard, elle pourroit employer le revenu de cette année pour achepter des billets blancs de la même Lotterie de l'anné passé, pour en augmenter icy son revenu, puisqu'on peut les avoir à un prix, comme elle verra par mon plan, cy joint, qu'ils rapportent dix pour cent, pendant 32 ans, au bout des quels le capital est perdu et les interests finissent.

187.] LEIBNITZ TO THE COUNTESS VON KLENK.

Extract eines Schreibens des Herren Hertzogs zu Sachsen-Zeitz, Durchl.

"*Von* 23 *May*, 1713.

"In Leipzig habe ich eine Rarität gesehen, nehmlichen einen rechten lebendigen natürlichen Hund, so reden können, zum wenigsten mehr als 50 Worte, so er seinem Lehrmeister recht à propos geantwortet, und das A, B, C, biss auf M, N, X, ausgesprochen. Ich habe ihn Zweymahl in Gegenwarth vieler Personen observirt. Diess ist, deücht mich, doch was neües, welches ich zum wenigsten nicht gesehen nocht gehört."

Vienne, le 30 *de May*, 1713.

Mademoiselle,

Je suis bien fâché de ne pouvoir jouir de l'avantage que M. le Comte Jörger m'offre de faire ma cour à Ebersdorf en sa compagnie, et de vous faire la révérence particulièrement. Je suis engagé dans une occupation dont je ne saurois me dispenser aujourdhuy. Cependant je vous communique une nouvelle philosophique, qui est que les chiens commencent déjà

de parler, et que par conséquent le monde va s'embellir, que les bêtes peu à peu deviendront raisonnables, que les hommes deviendront des anges, et que les anges, tels que vous êtes déjà avec vos belles compagnes, deviendront enfin des petites divinités. Vous en pouvés juger par le papier cy-joint, qui contient un extrait de la lettre que M. le Duc de Saxe-Zeiz m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire de sa main. Ne vous hatés pourtant pas trop, je vous en prie, de quitter l'estat angélique où vous êtes, pour courir à l'apothéose, qui vous est réservée. Daignés plustôt de vous humaniser envers celuy qui se nomme avec respect,

Mademoiselle,

Votre très humble, etc.,

[LEIBNITZ.]

The following letter of Caroline, Electoral Princess and afterwards Queen, is only legible by the help of the interlineations, which are Leibnitz's own, and the notes which I have taken the liberty of adding.

188.] CAROLINE OF ANSPACH TO LEIBNITZ.

over
hann le 27 *Xber*, 1713.

Vous pouvez esttre persuadee, Monsieur, que de touttes les lettres que ces feste mon[1] procuré la vostre a este la mieu receue. Vous avez raison de comances[2] vos vœux par le tron[3] d'Angletere, qui a la verité an a le plus de besoins, et malgré toutes les les belle chose que vos gasette vous dicez[4], il me samble que tout va de mal anpire.[5] Pour moy, qui suis feame, et par consequance aime a me flader,[6] jespere que le trop de mal des afaire yra a lavantage de la famille. Je pran la comparaison que vous faites, quoy que trop honnorable pour

[1] ces fêtes m'ont. [2] de commencer. [3] trône. [4] disent. [5] on pire. [6] à me flatter.

moy, de la Reine Elisabete, a bon augure. Son droit luis feut[1] disputé par une soeur galouse et de mechant humeur, et elle n'an feut iamais sure qua son avenement a la couronne. Vous voiyé, Monsieur, combien lamour propre est ingenieuse
l'Electrice
a se flader. Dieu soit louée que nostre Princesse de Gale se
l'air de l'emporter
porte mieu que jamais, et quelle a tout lairs de lanporter, par
tous ces ennemis,
sa bone sante, sur tout ces ainemis, et que vous nous prenez pour les vostre, puisque vous ne peance[2] pas a votre retour,
qui est souhaité par les vivans et par les morts,
qui et soitez par les viveant et pour les mors, qui, sil pou-
traités
vez[3] se plaintre, ne se trouverais[4] pas trop bien trestée de
Que vous ont-ils fait, Monsieur, ces pauvres Princes Ep. Ducs,
vous. Que vous on dil fait, Mr, ces pauuver P. Ep. Duc, pour vouloir que la seule consolassion qui reste a la vanite ne leurs
instruit
soit donne, et que le monde ne soit pas instreut par vous de tout leurs haut fait? Je ne Scais ce qui les doit flader[5] davantage destre louée par vn home come vous, au quél[6]
servent d'exemple
servez dessample a leurs neveu pour toute les belle et bone calidée quil doit[7] avoir possedée. Jespere qu'apres mestre fait leurs avocat vous serais trop polie, Mr, pour me refeuser vostre retour. Vous trouverais que malgré votre longue absance je suis toujours votre amie,

CAROLINE.

Pour toute les nouvelles que je vous puis donner d'issy, ces[8] que se soir il y aura vn balle au Mr L'Electeur, et mes anfeant an seron.[9] Mr le P. E. vous et tres reconnoissante pour tout les souhait obligeant que vous fait pour luis; il souhait votre retour.

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[1] lui fût. [2] pensez. [3] pouvaient. [4] trouveraient. [5] flatter. [6] ou qu'ils. [7] belles et bonnes qualités qu'ils doivent. [8] d'ici, c'est. [9] enfans en seront.

189.] LEIBNITZ TO THE QUEEN OF PRUSSIA.

Vienna, March 17th, 1714.

Madam,

The continuance of your Majesty's goodwill towards me, which I observed in receiving the honour of your answer, engages me to profound thanks. The ardent desire which I have to prove my zeal to your Majesty as well as to the King causes me to venture to touch upon the affairs of this time, with all submission to the pleasure of that great Prince, in case your Majesty thinks these lines fit to be brought under his notice.

The conclusion of the Treaty of Rastadt seems to change the whole system of Europe. But as France continues to march towards her own ends, and is even more successful by peace than by war, it is to be feared that, as she subjected Spain at Ryswick, she may have forged the chains of England at Rastadt: not that the Emperor enters into these designs, but that the nature of things itself leads to this result: the peace which France has signed with the Empire, depriving in fact the Dutch of the great support which they might otherwise have hoped for from the Empire, in case they should have been obliged to oppose themselves to the Pretender, and quarrel again with France. Besides, were England to submit to a creature of France, what would become of Holland, the Low Countries, and the Lower Rhine, together with the Duchy of Clèves and its neighbourhood? And moreover the King is one of the most deeply interested in this matter; not only in general as head of the Protestants in the Empire (a quality which must, and indeed cannot fail to enter into his principal views), but also in particular, seeing that your Majesty and his children are the next in the Protestant succession of Great Britain after the line of Mgr. your brother. Thus it seems at present that it is almost peculiarly the King's affair to oppose himself to these dangerous views of the Bourbons, and to take measures thereupon concurrently with Mgr. his brother-in-law, and MM. the States-General; and even to mediate a new and strict intelligence between the Emperor—

with the Empire—and the Estates for the conservation of the public liberty, to which measure M. de Bothmer assures me the States are well inclined. Moreover the conclusion of the Peace between the Empire and France might still be made to follow a slow course on many accounts; among others, for the sake of securing the interests of the Protestants against the Fourth Article of the Treaty of Ryswick. It was therefore much to be desired that M. le Comte de Dohna might have been able to remain here a little longer. But as that has not been the case, his Majesty will not want for other means, public or private, to watch over the conservation of the public liberty, the Reformed religion, and his own interests, and to insinuate here what is suitable to those objects. Having myself some access to the Emperor, I judge that His Imperial Majesty will never stray from any point towards which his Imperial office and the public good ought to lead him. I say these things rather to show with what ardour I desire everything which tends to the service and glory of His Majesty, than in the hope of being able to say anything on this subject which could escape the wisdom of his Majesty and his advisers. My design is to be in Hanover at the beginning of the summer; but wherever I may be, I shall endeavour to show with how much attachment and devotion I am, Madam, your Majesty's etc. etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

The writer of the following letters, Baron von Steinghens, descended from an ancient family of the Netherlands, resided at this time in London as Minister from the Elector Palatine. He carried on an active correspondence with Schulenburg, the principal object of which was to remove the jealousy entertained at Hanover of Queen Anne's intentions with regard to the Succession. It is evident that he believed the unscrupulous partisans of the Opposition to be carrying on a game

which could only end in mischief; and he more than once complains that there is little hope of his being believed if he ventures to give unpalatable advice. At this particular conjuncture the main intrigue was to bring over the Electoral Prince to reside in England, various details of which are already published in Macpherson. Among Leibnitz's correspondence are many letters referring to this subject, of which he seems to have had the management on the part of the Electress, the Elector himself treating it with considerable indifference. All Steinghens's letters were communicated by Schulenburg to Leibnitz, who appears also to have been employed in drawing up deductions in answer to them.

190.] BARON DE STEINGHENS TO SCHULENBURG.

London, March $\frac{14}{27}$, 1714.

With regard to affairs here, I shall tell you nothing of the intentions of the Queen's Council as to foreign politics; because, since the 'Daily Courant' has published the list of resolutions of MM. the Estates of the 24th of February, touching the conferences of my Lord Strafford, every cobbler knows more than they have chosen to tell any foreign Minister, so you are not to wait for me there, but at any rate on matters purely national. Now, however poor an opinion you may have of my courage to discover my true sentiments, I will assure you, upon my honour, that, after having well calculated and weighed everything which I have been able to make out on one side or the other, after the most exact and impartial researches, I do not see the slightest chance of the Pretender's coming hither, unless affairs were to change their aspect much more than, morally speaking, there is any possibility of their doing. I will go further, and say, that if the Queen had died at the time when people were free enough to announce her death, the Princess Sophia would have been proclaimed Queen

the self-same day. Not that I am not well aware that it is more easy to persuade people to transubstantiation than to convert prejudiced minds from the opposite opinion; but that will not prevent me from telling you things as I believe them to be, assuring you that, if I perceived the slightest foundation for believing in a plot in favour of the Pretender, I should be the very first to inform the Elector of it through your channel, so convinced I am of the necessity of the Protestant succession in England for the safety of Germany itself. Every true Englishman, whatever party he may be of, is persuaded of this necessity for the preservation of his own national liberty and prosperity; he is not less persuaded of this constant truth, that the only enemy which this island has to fear, either for its might or for its commerce, is France. Now, as I know that the Premier here is very convinced of these two principles, I have thought hitherto that the indolence which has been shown with regard to the Pretender has been nothing but a bone thrown out for the Whigs and their friends to gnaw, in order to keep them to their duty; but seeing that the Queen has fired up more than ever in her last speech in favour of the Protestant succession, I am compelled to change my mind, believing that the business of Parliament will be got over much more quietly than would otherwise have been the case, provided that no false steps are taken from abroad. I have often been astonished at the surprising success with which the party adverse to the Court continues to impose upon minds beyond sea for so many years, in spite of the lie which time has so often given to their most positive assertions. I will not deny that the governing party may possibly have acted with too much indolence, for I am very far from wishing to make any apology for them; nevertheless I know, beyond all doubt, that the monopoly of belief which the opposite party continues to enjoy, is the reason why no proper persons can be found to send to foreign Courts. It is this very monopoly which ought to prevent me from entertaining you with the true state of affairs here; for what is the use of speaking differently to you, when I know beforehand that you will not

believe me? However, as I happen to be in the humour of writing, I will tell you that the last lie about the Bank is one of the grossest that can be invented; for it is a fact that, during the three days which the run upon the Bank lasted, all the sums demanded did not amount to a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Now be pleased to tell me if this sum could possibly throw into confusion a Bank which has six millions in its pocket. There was nothing in it but the malice of the body which governs it in so mysterious a way that, like the rising republic of the Jews, their dogmas are hidden and impenetrable to all those who are not members of their coterie from father to son. The effect of the pretended danger of the Bank is evident enough from the call of forty per cent., which these gentry have made, and which might be followed by many others, in order to draw into their own coffers almost all the coin of the realm, unless the Government takes order for it; for I am bold to assert that it will never be at its ease until it introduces some one devoted to itself among the monopolists of the Bank.

The report of the desperate state of the Queen's health, which has been kept up so long, may also serve as a proof of the ascendency of the party opposed to the Court; nevertheless I can assure you, on very good authority, that all the danger to the Queen's life did not last twice twenty-four hours, and that all that was said either before the last illness, with regard to the disorder of the navel, the dropsy, etc., or since, touching the dysentery and other symptoms, is utterly and totally false.

Now what remains for the Opposition, after so many changes of attack, except to stick to that of the Pretender? But even supposing that we believe that party in earnest, and inseparably attached to the interests of the House of Hanover, what can that House risk in trying, only as a matter of prudence, to place itself on good terms with the Queen and the Ministry? Is there any harm in securing oneself on one side as well as the other? and ought not the Opposition itself to wish this, for the sake of the succession it desires so greatly?

191.] SCHULENBURG TO LEIBNITZ.

Berlin, March 31*st*, 1714.

Sir,

Since I have been here I have received three of your agreeable letters, which are full of instruction, and give me all the pleasure imaginable. I wish I had the power of acting in conformity with your good and judicious instructions. I was a long time this morning with the King, and afterwards dined with him, being placed at his side. We were three hours at table, which is very unusual; and many fine things were said. He put more questions to me than I could have answered in detail in several months. He has all the cleverness imaginable, and it is more than a pity that this Prince amuses himself with trifles, and that he is for the most part of his time surrounded by people of very middling talents; and that he enters without reflection into the opinion which is uppermost at the moment. I did not fail to sound him on many subjects, and I find that he has taken great umbrage on the chapter of the peace which has just been made between the Emperor and the King of France. He suspects that there are several articles reserved *in petto,* which may nevertheless have important consequences. I perceive however that there is a great regard here for His Imperial Majesty, and that he is taken, and with justice, for a Prince who is in earnest and who is firm and intrepid, as soon as he is convinced that he has right on his side. A part of the Ministers are of the same mind; but there are others who, without any deep appreciation of the situation of affairs, imagine that everything is to arrange itself according to their views. I have dropped a word or two here and there, giving them to understand that there is no example of any Prince of the Empire having ever managed his own matters successfully without keeping up a good understanding with the Emperor; and that he can produce more effect with a single stroke of his pen than the other Princes of the Empire have ever succeeded in doing with their armies and their intrigues. This is the language I have spoken hitherto: it remains to be

seen whether the King chooses to have any further conversation with me, and whether he will be permitted to see me often; if so, you may be sure I will speak to him conformably with your letters and according to your views. He catches one's meaning with half a word, and understands very well what one means to say. If I could go with him to Potsdam I should have the opportunity of taking him in hand there in a proper manner; but these are things which depend upon chance, and which I have no power of forcing on. I am very sure that the greater part of the people here would be very glad that I should see and frequent him as little as possible. You may be persuaded beforehand that they are very uncertain here what side to take; and that nothing ought to be neglected, particularly at the present time, if you have any need of this Court, to engage it on your side by some real advantage, or at least by something which may flatter this young King. With respect to Stettin, I am told that the King has said that he should be very glad to keep it, but that he should never be of the humour of the late King, his father, to fret and go a fortnight without sleeping, if he were to lose it again; that God had given him enough to keep up his dignity with, and so he should make up his mind to be content with it. I have inquired about what you mention in one of your letters of a treaty having been made between France, England, this Court, and Holstein, but I cannot discover anything about it: I notice that even the Holsteiners are disquieted and embarrassed. All the world will stand with their arms crossed till they see a little more clearly with respect to the peace which has just been made; it is a blow which has stupefied them all. You are of course aware that in the treaty between this Court and Holstein it is provided that the King engaged to have the Administrator restored by using all the means *quantum possibile*; and now they are attempting to explain these terms away: it was Ilgen who put them in. At present the whole question is a dispute about words, which is as much as to say, there will be nothing real done,—the more so as they have attained their ends. I told the Holsteiners what would happen, four months ago. It

is reported that the King of Sweden has forbidden the Senate of Stockholm to meddle with making peace, and that he will take charge of it himself. Müller is said to have written to Count Horn, that they hoped soon to come to a good understanding with the King of Poland. The Czar is dreaded here extremely, Prussia lying entirely open. What say you, that the Czar has thrown off the mask so soon in attempting to transfer his commerce from Archangel to Petersburg, and in sending in all directions to conclude commercial treaties? Would it not have been more wisely done to have thought of this some years hence? People here do not entertain the views they ought with regard to England and Holland; they are incensed against the Dutch, and hold them cheap; and they do not consider the course they ought to adopt towards the English, whose plans they do not know at bottom. It seems nevertheless that they have thought better about Hanover; they are really in treaty for Nordhausen, as the King himself told me, and this seems to be a good start for the rest. What do you say to the Queen's last speech to her Parliament, in which it seems that she puts herself on a parallel with Queen Elizabeth, who assuredly would never have let France off so cheaply and so dishonourably? This Princess is timid to an excess, and lets herself be ruled by people whom their own selfish interest rules, and who move towards their ends by infamous ways. The Grand Treasurer, Harley, is an intrepid man, who knows England as thoroughly as he is ignorant of foreign affairs, and spends more in spies than Cromwell ever did. Bolingbroke is a man of superior genius; he has a marvellous facility of comprehending an affair; he works without trouble; moreover he is extravagant in wine and in women, and is often heedless in his measures. These two gentlemen are by no means hearty friends. The Whigs have the best heads in England, and have more money than the Tories; the greatest part of the army is for them, and the Tories have not a single military man of weight to place at their head, while the others have several. At Hanover they are too indolent upon this subject, and I am much mistaken if the Elector would not be

glad to be quit of it, if he could with honour. It is still believed that the Emperor will quarrel with the Dutch, which I do not believe. I am on the contrary persuaded that both parties are much too well aware of their true interests. The Pensionary Heinsius has re-engaged himself for six years, on condition that he shall be permitted to retire every year, every month, or every week,—a curious agreement enough. There have been disturbances at Utrecht on the subject of the funds: they get five per cent. instead of ten, which is a crying injustice. The Duke of Savoy has been a great deal blamed; it is believed that if he cannot find any port to put into, he will rather give up Sicily than risk his new acquisitions in Italy. It is reported that Prince Eugene is to be Governor of the Netherlands. The Congress of Brunswick is opened, but the parties interested are slow in coming; they would like first to see the bottom of the bag of the treaty between France and the Emperor. You will be so good, if you please, as to write to me again here, since I do not know when I shall leave. I will write also to you as long as I remain here, praying you to continue me the honour of your remembrance, and to be persuaded that I am truly, with great esteem, Sir, etc. etc.,

SCHULENBURG.

192.] STEINGHENS TO SCHULENBURG.

London, May $\frac{1}{12}$, 1714.

Since my last there have been great debates in both Houses; the Ministers have been torn to pieces, tooth and nail, a thing which takes place here, especially in the Lower House, with as much impunity as people blackguard one another on the Thames; but the Ministry cares very little about it, provided it keeps its majority on important questions. It has done this up to the present time, and seems likely to do so till the end of the session; and if the Opposition has succeeded in gaining more ground than there was reason to expect at first,

it can only be attributed to the dissensions which have arisen in the Ministry itself. Some people have been at work for a whole year to deprive my Lord Treasurer of the sole conduct of public affairs. I have been aware, almost from the beginning, of the different channels which have been made use of to carry this point; but I should never have expected that they would fire the mine before the end of this session, and I am much mistaken if the authors have not reason one day to regret their over-haste; for I do not know my man if he does not cut out a good deal of work for them, particularly *if a certain intrigue which is on the* tapis *succeeds*. As for the rest, you may rely upon his sentiments, as I explained them in my last; and he never succeeded in persuading those who doubted them, more than by his declaration made in full House on the $\frac{5}{16}$th of last month, upon the question of the danger to the Protestant succession, having in it given much greater hold upon himself than there was any need for, if he is not acting in good faith. The House of Hanover has, beyond all contradiction, gained much by this debate; and the party of the Hanoverian Tories, who are so called to distinguish them from the Court Tories, has visibly been strengthened by it. That is the party which must be looked after; for it is an illusion to believe that the Whigs alone can bring in the House of Hanover. We shall see what steps this House will take after my Lord Paget's arrival at this Court, and after the forbidding of this one to M. le Baron Schütze, whose conduct it is impossible to justify (in having demanded of the Lord Chancellor a writ for the Duke of Cambridge, without giving the Court any notice of it), unless indeed he had received such orders. Of this I should be as sorry as I should be to see the Electoral Prince here against the will of the Queen, knowing beyond all possibility of doubt the ill consequences to which such an attempt might lead, since the Queen is found to be more firm and more resolved to play out her part of the game than any one ever believed her capable of being. Why do they not rather wait for unmistakable measures, which you have a right to ask for, either by having the Pre-

tender moved much further off than he is, or by strengthening the guarantees in favour of the Hanoverian succession? (for the demand that the Queen shall set a price upon her brother's head has been looked upon as madness by the Whigs themselves ever since their first fury cooled down.) The Queen has engaged herself to both these measures; but let them not rouse this Princess's extreme jealousy respecting her own power, by attacks upon her sovereignty, which might force her to carry into execution those violent resolutions which the hope of self-preservation is often capable of inspiring into a Ministry; and all this at a time when there are more moderate and more suitable means of arriving at one's ends; when a little deference shown to the wishes of the Queen might regain that Princess's goodwill; when her health, better than it has been for the whole year, puts off all danger of her death; and when, by an Act of Parliament, one might legitimate the introduction into the kingdom of the troops of those Princes who have undertaken the guarantee, in case of any well-founded apprehension of such as might accompany the Pretender.

P.S.—After, Sir, having spoken of other people's affairs, let us speak of our own; and permit me to entreat you not to delay going to Hanover, if only on pretext of wishing the Electoral Prince a good journey, but in reality to prevent it altogether, for the reasons alleged in my letter. As M. Schütze has conducted himself very ill here from the very first, he deserves to be made the scapegoat; but as to his successor, believe me, upon my honour, when I tell you that there is no fitter person than yourself. Already the conclusion of the Peace of Rastadt, after so many other examples, proves that the quality of a Minister does not derogate from that of a great General: and as in this case the interest of the Elector and the pleasure of your company would oblige me to think of the means of remaining here, I dare to assure you that, by putting together affairs upon a very different footing from the past, we should, with the help of God, succeed in establishing the Hanoverian succession in the possession of these kingdoms, as

well as in keeping it there, whatever difference there may be between the one and the other. As long as I had reason to think that my Lord Treasurer's colleagues in the Cabinet were only struggling to share with him the Queen's favour and her secret, I could never bring myself to believe that there could be any plot to introduce the Pretender, reckoning that my Lord Treasurer was incapable of joining any such, unless pushed to the utmost extremity, which is still very remote. But since I have had reason to be persuaded that these colleagues, having begun to have some influence upon the Queen, wish to drive him entirely from office, I smell a rat, and judge on this account that it is of extreme importance, both for the Whigs and the House of Hanover, to take steps to keep him there, and to engage him by some sort of particular confidence to be assured of his fortune under this House, so that he may not leave his employment: for all the world agrees that it will not be taken from him unless he desires it, as he seemed to do lately when he tendered his resignation, which the Queen refused to accept. If you think proper to make any use of this delicate confidence, write to me as if it had been made you by somebody else.

CLAUDE ALEXANDRE, COMTE DE BONNEVAL.

This, as well as a subsequent letter of the Duchess of Marlborough, dated July 29th, 1714, were, I have no doubt, addressed to the eccentric and well-known Comte de Bonneval. This gentleman, who descended from a family connected with Royalty itself, was born at Paris on the 14th of July, 1675. In 1691 he entered the naval service of France, but seven years later (1698) he left it, and received a Lieutenant's commission in the Royal Guards. Here he rose to the rank of Colonel, in which capacity he served with great credit in Italy under Catinat, Villeroy, and Vendôme. His profligacy and

turbulence however got him into disgrace with Madame de Maintenon, and he was passed over in the promotion of officers in the year 1704. His disgust at this slight, and, as it seems also, the fear of being called to account for certain passages of his life, determined him to leave his country. In 1705 he went over to the Austrians, and was received with welcome by Prince Eugene, through whose favour he was made a Major-General, April 5th, 1706. He was employed both by Eugene and Marlborough in civil as well as military services, made the successive campaigns in Flanders and Italy, and was one of the commissioners for the treaty of peace at Rastadt, signed March 7th, 1714. With the rank of a Lieutenant-General he served under Eugene in the Turkish war, 1715–1718, and on several occasions distinguished himself by his daring bravery. On the conclusion of the Turkish campaigns he was sent, with a high command, into the Netherlands (1723), where his insolent and overbearing conduct involved him in a quarrel with the Imperial Commissioner, Marquis de St. Prie. By this officer's order he was placed under arrest and sent to Vienna: here he was brought to a court-martial on various charges. Deserted by Prince Eugene, with whom he had ceased to entertain relations of friendship, he was abandoned to the mercy of his enemies, and the court-martial pronounced sentence of death against him: this sentence was however commuted to imprisonment for one year in the fortress of Munkacz, with degradation from his rank and military character. On his discharge from prison, finding all hope of success in the Imperial service vain, without a home or means of support, he took the desperate resolution of throwing himself into the arms of the Turks, and was received by

them on favourable conditions, being appointed to the rank of a Pasha of two tails, and placed at the head of an artillery corps. On this occasion he assumed the name of Achmet Pasha, by which he is almost better known than by his own. For many years he served the Ottomans with success, and displayed no inconsiderable administrative talents in the commands he held. But De Bonneval was no better Turk than he was a Christian; if we may trust an anecdote of Casanova, who visited him in his old-age, he by no means adhered to the precepts of the Koran with respect to wine. His attempted improvements also in the artillery service were looked upon with disfavour by all zealous Mussulmen. He fell into disgrace, and, after having been sent to various places in a sort of honourable exile, was finally relegated to the island of Cyprus, where he died in 1747, in the seventy-third year of his age. During his residence at Vienna, Leibnitz relied much upon De Bonneval's influence with Eugene, to gain that prince's support for his plan of founding an Academy of Sciences in that city, for the support of which institution the duties on paper were to be assigned. Several letters between De Bonneval and Leibnitz are printed in Feder, 'Commercium Epistolicum Leibnitii' (p. 423–459); others still remain in MS. at Hanover, and are quite as amusing specimens of De Bonneval's light and somewhat frivolous style. In a letter, dated September 21, 1714, Leibnitz says: "Si j'étais en estat d'obéir à S. A. R., j'irois l'accompagner jusqu'en Angleterre; et en ce cas je souhaiterois de vous y voir, Monsieur, suivant ce que vous aviés fait espérer à Mme la Duchesse de Marlborough." And Bonneval himself writes: "Madame la Duchesse de Marlborough m'a décrit l'entrée de son mari en Angleterre; elle ne peut trop

me marquer la joie de l'avénement du Roy à la couronne d'Angleterre" (October 6, 1714). These passages seem to refer to this correspondence.

The 'Mémoires du Comte de Bonneval' were published at the Hague, in two volumes, in 1737. They contain his own, and therefore a favourable, version of the principal events of his life. A hostile critique upon this work, which appeared soon after its publication, attempted to prove the alleged intimacy of Prince Eugene with Bonneval to be a mere chimera, the invention of a lawless adventurer. The letters of Leibnitz and Field-Marshal von der Schulenburg sufficiently refute this calumnious assertion, and show that, whatever may have afterwards been the case, there was a time when the two comrades were on terms of friendship and confidence. De Bonneval's character was unhappily bad enough, without any blackening on the part of time-serving parasites at the Imperial Court. However ill we may think of him as a man, his conduct and courage as a soldier were never impeached.

193.] SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH, TO DE BONNEVAL.

Antwerp, May the 21st, 1714.

S^r^

I was very agreably surprized with a letter from you in English, and I will give the person, that wrote it, the trouble of reading my sincere thanks to you in a very ill hand, because I have nobody, that I can rely upon to do it in french. I can't find any words, that can satisfye me to express the Sense I have of the Princes great goodnesse in giving so obliging an answer to my request, but I hope you will make my acknowledgements in the manner, that they ought to be. The Duke of Marleborough hath written upon the same sub-

ject, to the Prince, two days ago, by the Prince of Ligne, & I hope what is desired in favour of General Murray may the more easely be obtained, because I believe him so honest & so reasonable a Man, as not to wish to be continued longer in the post he is now in, then till ye Dutch can provide for him. For my own part, I am very much touch'd with the number of Spaniards, you mention, which are so unfortunate as to want a provision; I could solicit for them very heartily myself; 'tis cruel to thinck men should suffer for having opposed those, that had no right to govern their country, & that have shown by their Injustice and tyranny, that they did not deserve to be trusted with power, if one could persuade oneself to believe, that the will of a weak Prince could be a sufficient title to dispose of his Country. As to my own ridiculous Countrymen, besides what you know already of them, I believe you have seen their address upon the 16th of April, in which they thank her Majesty for a safe, honourable, and advantagious peace with france & Spain, & at the same time, that this adress was procured, the Ministers heard themselves, (hours together) arraign'd & villifyed in both hous's, without any bodys saying a word in their defence: never were facts so plainly proved without any contradiction, & most of the Torys, that have estates, are joyned with the honest party, & have declared, in both Houses of Parliament, that they have been too long deluded with the false promises of the Ministers. I am sure it is natural upon this account for you to ask (this being so) how they came to make such an address, which the Torys would excuse to their new freinds, by Saying, that they had so long commended this peace, both in publick & private, that they could not condemn it in the lump, that this address was only a Complement to the Queen, & that they would take all occasions for the future, to secure the true interest of the Nation; in the mean time they have given some credit to the men, that they design to pull to pieces, that is with such as don't know them, & live at a great distance; & to save their dear honour, they have voted, what every body knows, (that has sense enough to feed themselves) what they believe, and

know to be every word false. But as ill a look as this hath at present for the publick, there are very understanding men, that believe these Betrayers of their Country can't stand long; the number of the House of Lords upon some questions is come to be equal, & in the Commons they have divided 208 of the most wheighty men against the Court; & because you are a Soldier, I will tell you a Saying, which we have in England, that Such a number of Volonteers will soon beat a much greater of pressed men, then the Ministers have by all the power of the Crown, & the corruption of the times; her Majesty has been oblidged to give herself the trouble to send for bishops, and severall people, & hath given them the most solemn assurances that you can imagin, that she will never depart from what she hath so much at her heart, the protestant succession in the House of Hanover, professing that she never had any thoughts of any thing else, & that she will do all that is possible to secure it; & to shew how far the goodnesse of Her Majesty extends, & the desire She hath to make all people easie, I have very good reason to believe, that She hath given all the assurances, that can be desired, of her kind intentions for her friends at Barleduc, and that they are entirely satisfy'd with her; which I fear you will not be with me for writing so much upon this foolish proceeding: tho' when you were at Frankford, you did not seem to be so much in love with the pope, but that you could bear to pass a little time with us poor Hereticks in England; where I wish I could see you, that I might express in all the ways I am capable of, how much you have oblidged Your

Most faithfull & most humble Servant,

S: MARLBOROUGH.

The Duke of Marlborough presents his humble service to you, & I beg you would joyn mine with his, to those that have done us the honour, to remember us in your letter; not knowing anything of the merits or pretentions of the Irish Gentleman, Mr Hobbs, I fear it would be impertinent in me to write to the Count Merci, to whom I have not the honour to

be known, but I will take care to let Mr Cadogan know your goodnesse to him in that matter, that he may take what measures he thinks proper. The Duke of Argile said lately in a Speech in the house of Lords, (which was all very Severe) these following words, that it was a Satyr upon mankind in general, & upon England in particular, to suffer such a Sett of Ignorant & Knavish Ministers to govern them so long. Others said, upon occasion of the debate for the Address, that a Parliament of Paris had yet more notions of honour and liberty left, than to have such grosse absurdities and contradictions imposed upon them, as that adress would be; and this is the language, that the Ministers are treated with every day. However it has not yet made them slaken their measures, & many brave men have been turn'd out of the army, after having fought so long in the glorious cause of liberty, some for talking, some for thinking, and wretches put into their places, that never served. I had a letter lately from General Stanhope, who is still in good heart, notwithstanding this melancholy Account.

The following letter was written after the dishonest disavowal of Baron Von Schütze by the Elector, and his recall from London.

194.] STEINGHENS TO SCHULENBURG.

London, June 5th, 1714.

It is an infinite pleasure to me that my sentiments agree with your own. The Elector's conduct in this delicate affair will convince all impartial people of the superiority of his genius, and will not fail to make it easy for him to gain the Queen's affections entirely. Nothing will be wanting to finish the work so well begun, but the choice of an able Minister, who shall be at the same time agreeable to this Court; on which subject I cannot think better than I did, being moreover well assured that no one here will gainsay me.

It was nothing but the fear of the arrival of the Electoral Prince, in spite of the Queen, which made them find expedients to put off the unanimous vote of the Lower House for payment of the arrears to the Hanoverian troops. I can assure you, in spite of the fine promises of the Whigs, that the Parliament would never have voted one *sou* for the subsistence of this Prince if he had come against the will of the Queen: and I can tell you still more, that I have learnt from people of the first order, that if the Prince had come to this kingdom in that way, the Pretender would not have failed to follow him immediately, and that he would have found here all the dispositions which the spite and rage of an insulted Court and party could inspire; so much horror people have of falling again under the domination of the Whigs, the hatred of whom can be compared to nothing better than that of the Catholic Netherlands against the Dutch, either for atrocity or for extent; for I am well assured that there are more than thirty Tories for one Whig in this kingdom.

You have perfectly well guessed upon the subject of our man; and he is already so far advanced in your project of upsetting his adversary, that it is believed certain that the latter will throw up the game.

Your friend's letter is full of reasonings of the highest order. I reserve to myself the pleasure of answering them in detail in my next; assuring you that you may rely as much upon the good treatment as upon the sincerity of the inviolable attachment with which I am, etc. etc.,

STEINGHENS.

This, like all the rest of Steinghens's letters, was communicated by Schulenburg to Leibnitz; but in the meantime the Count had received from Leibnitz the letter from Vienna, No. 196 in this Collection, in part answer to which he had written on the back of the foregoing letter the following words:—

"Bonneval is in every respect a man of merit, and

capable of much, as is also the Duc d'Arenberg. Debauchery, and, in consequence, the little attention which they pay to serious affairs, will end by spoiling and utterly ruining them. The two Princes of Würtemberg are of another quality, and differ very much from them. You are put out by nothing, though one might easily be so in such company. Farewell."

195.] CAROLINE OF ANSPACH TO LEIBNITZ.

Hanower, Juin, 1714.

Le seulle avantage que j'ay diray,[1] Monsieur, de toute les avantage qui adantoit[2] Mr le P. E., et[3] votre lettre, que vous mavez ecrit. Mr le P. E. vous a beaucoup d'oblication de vous inderesser sy fortement pour luis; il auroit estte a souhaiter que dout[4] le monde eut heu les mes santimant;[5] se nest pas la feaute de Mr le P. ny de tout les honneste geans d'isy, il a remeuez ciel et tere, et j'ean ayee parle moy meme tres fortement a Mr L'Electeur. Nous avons estte deans la crisse jusqu'avant hier, ou on a receu vn Courié de la Reine avec des lettres pour Mad. L'E., et Mr L'E. et le P. E., qui sont d'un violances dinge[6] de Milord Bullenbrock, et par là le P. E. ces veu[7] presque sans esperance daller prender sa seances celon son Droit. Je ne scais ce que le monde peu juger de la contevuite[8] que nous avons Denu isy;[9] je ne regrede pas teans[10] la perte que peudestre[11] nostre contevuite nous adirera[12] que d'auoir en quelque manier apandone[13] l'interest de nostre St Religion, la Liberdie d'urope[14] et tant de pravez et honeste amis an angeltere. Je n'ay d'autre consolassion que D'avoir veu humenent[15] faire tout au P. pour opdenir c'este permission. Md L'E. ces joint a leuis,[16] et ille veulle anvoiyer[17] leurs lettres

[1] tiré. [2] qu'attendait. [3] est. [4] tout. [5] eu les mêmes sentimens. [6] violence digne. [7] s'est vu. [8] conduite. [9] tenu ici. [10] regrette pas tant. [11] peut-être. [12] attirera. [13] abandonné. [14] liberté de l'Europe. [15] humainement. [16] c'est jointe à lui. [17] ils veulent envoyer.

de la R: qu'il on receu[1] an angeltere. Mr le P: ma charge de vous prier, Monsieur, d'assurer Mr le P: de Savois de ces tres humble service et de le prier tres instanment de ne luis rien ynpuder an[2] toute ceste afaire; qu'il savoit que Mr le P. lavoit trouvez bon et apropo. Il y a plus de deux anne que sy sa avoit despandu[3] de luis; il aurais desferais d'apore[4] au santiment d'un sy grand home, pour le quelle il avoit teant de venerassion, mais que tout avoit estte innudilee.[5] Je ne trouuez dautre consolassion que destre persuadée que la provvidance fait tout pour nostre bien, et votre prefaces sur la Dœodyces[6] m'est d'un grand secour. Enfin, Monsieur, jamais chacrain ne ma pareu sy vivez et insutenable come ce luis la.[7] Je crains pour la sante du P. E. et peutetre pour sa vie. Jespere que votre retour restera fixes à la St jeans; il n'y aura persone qui an sera plus ayssez que M. le P. et moy, qui nous feron toujours vn plaisir de vous marquer an, doute les occasion que nous some de vos amies.

CAROLINE.

Mande moy, je vous prie, ce que le P. Eugene vous a repondu, et ce que lon dit a la cour de notre condevuite.

196.] LEIBNITZ TO SCHULENBURG.

Vienna, June 7th, 1714.

Sir,

I think I heard M. le Comte de Bonneval say that he had received a letter from you, of which he is very glad: he is also in correspondence with the Duchess of Marlborough. You are quite right in saying that M. le Duc d'Arenberg shrinks too much from serious occupations; but he is young and would correct himself, if he had anything to do. M. de Bonneval too would like nothing better than to have more to do. When

[1] qu'ils ont reçu. [2] imputer en. [3] ça avoit dépendu. [4] auroit déféré d'abord. [5] inutile. [6] Théodicée. [7] celui-là.

I am in their company they excuse my drinking, and I leave when it seems good to me.

I am both rejoiced and surprised at what you tell me of the good order which the King of Prussia has introduced into his finances and his troops: I congratulate him upon it. He must be very attentive to his affairs, and be seconded by able people. The Emperor, who has much more application and experience, cannot yet say that he has got to so advanced a point as you say the King of Prussia has. It seems that his Prussian Majesty wishes to study his affairs better, before he forms grand resolutions therein. The news, Sir, which you give me of the Court of Hanover, fills me with as much joy as I am capable of feeling, after the death of our incomparable Electress. I hope that this good condition may be durable, and, among other things, I wish that Mgr. the Prince could be in the Council of State.

As for English affairs, there are people who would fain persuade us that the quarrel between my Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke is feigned, or of little consequence. I am ready enough to believe that my Lord Oxford will not lend his hand easily or heartily to bring in the Pretender; for I do not think he would mend his position that way, but rather make it worse. But I fear that for the sake of maintaining himself he may be obliged to pretend to give in to it, and so let matters go so far that it will be difficult to remedy them. For to give posts of confidence, especially in the army, to people suspected of favouring the Pretender; to arm the Scottish Highlanders; to disarm the Irish Protestants;—these are all very dangerous things. Again, to push the Presbyterians to extremities, and to do all one can to make a quarrel between the Dutch and the Emperor, are the most favourable measures that could be taken for Jacobitism and Popery. The former Ministry and the Whigs had been overturned, without going so far; and the present Ministry had it in its power to make a very glorious Peace, and one that would have been very advantageous both to the nation and to Europe. But as they have made one so bad and (to judge by the little specimen of Dunkirk) so dis-

honourable, we must conclude, either that the Ministers themselves inclined to the side of France, or that they were obliged to go so far in order to render themselves agreeable, and maintain themselves in power. For there are people who lay it to their charge that they would never have got on so far unless they had held out hopes of overturning the succession. I wish that they may put an end to these suspicions by their acts; but if they go on as they do, they will find it difficult to satisfy the nation. For at last the phantom of Whigs and Tories, which people seem to wish to keep up, will vanish, and only two parties will remain, that of the well-intentioned, and that of the Jacobites. They would be very wrong at Hanover to attach themselves only to the Whigs; they ought to attach themselves to the bulk of the nation, and endeavour to abolish these factions. I think, Sir, I told you my belief that Mgr. the Elector was to interpose his good offices to bring about an accommodation between MM. the States-General and the Emperor. I do not know whether it is true that M. de Robethon is to go to Holland while M. de Bothmer is in England. I am more curious than ever to have news from Finland; for provided matters remain there *in statu quo*, I hope for a tolerable peace in the North.

The following is a deduction in answer to one of Leibnitz's, forwarded by Schulenburg. I regret that I have not been able to find this, as it no doubt contained a skilful *exposé* of the views entertained by the Electress's party at Hanover. Still, as Steinghens observes, these were the same as the Opposition in England continually put forward, which are abundantly familiar to us.

197.] STEINGHENS TO SCHULENBURG.

Bath, June 14th, 1714.

I beg you a thousand pardons, both for not having answered

sooner the very important Memoir which you have sent to me, and also for not being able to do it at present otherwise than very feebly, on account of the gout, which is plaguing my hand more than ever.

The reasoning contained therein, respecting the affairs of the North and the apparent views of the Court of Vienna, is so just that I subscribe to it at once; but I expect some indulgence on the part of the author if I differ from him in opinion with regard to affairs here. The reasons upon which he founds his are no novelty to me; they are those of the Opposition, *toutes crachées;* but it is not quite so difficult to answer them as he thinks, or to prove the very reverse, provided folks would only get rid of certain prejudices and their party-spirit: *hoc opus, hic labor est.*

The author's alarm at the exorbitant power which the Peace of Utrecht has given to France is very laudable; I wish that the Empire may never lose sight of it; but *to make the English Ministry alone responsible for it,* is to show oneself little versed in the anecdotes of this Peace,—to ignore entirely the incredible obstacles which the enemies of the Ministry threw, both at home and abroad, in the way of making the Peace such as it might have been; in a word, it is not to be well-informed either of the uprightness of the Queen's and her Ministers' intentions, or of the way in which the trickery of France was able to take advantage of it, in the *fatal necessity to which they were reduced, of not being able any longer to put off the cession of Spain to Philip without exposing the Exchange in London and the credit of the nation* (in which its principal resource consists) to a general combustion. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*

I do not pretend to enter into any dispute with the author on the power of France to introduce the Pretender, although there are very strong reasons to doubt it in the opinion of persons who have lately made very exact inquiries into the matter; but what authority, except that of the Whigs, has the author to affirm so positively that France has any desire to introduce the Pretender? For my part, however disposed I suspect Scotland may be to receive him, I shall never be persuaded

that, under present circumstances, France will be willing to make a *second attempt** to bring him thither; and moreover I see that the same part of the nation, whatever faction it may be of, including even the Jacobite, has entirely given up the idea that the House of Bourbon alone can introduce and establish the Pretender in England.

But (1) England is disarmed and disunited; (2) Holland is intimidated; (3) the House of Hanover is out of reach; and (4) the English Ministry act as if they were for the Pretender. These are the four principal objections which I shall attempt to answer.

1. In order to show that the disarming of England in no degree assures the country in favour of the Pretender, I appeal to its history; and I defy any one, even if they go back to the time of Julius Cæsar, to find in it a single example of conquest without there having been a regular standing army. The reason of this is evident: it is that, in this case, they had only to win over some of the Generals or to gain a single battle to throw the whole nation into irretrievable confusion; seeing that, trusting to its army, it neglected the natural advantage it had of disputing the ground, foot by foot, in several quarters at once. In fact it is very difficult to come to an end with a nation as opulent as it is warlike and brave; whose militia, exercised from time to time, amount to more than 100,000 men, and which, in case of need, is in a condition to mount, over and above these, 20,000 horse, and to fit out upwards of 100 ships of the line, all ready, as people of honour, who both can and ought to know, have positively assured me.

The disunion of the nation, of which the author of the Memoir complains, will never make any impression when it is considered that the factions in this country are the natural consequence of the Government being divided between the Court and the Parliament: this is the reason that there have been such, and there always will be, as long as the present form

* The first attempt, in the year 1708, was a total failure, and cost France a sum of money which it was by no means in a condition to venture a second time.

of Government subsists. But, give them whatever name you will, they will at all times be reducible under two principal heads, namely those who are in office, and those who want to be. In short, it may be asserted that office is the source of the animosities and the most envenomed divisions of this nation; and whatever they may talk about party-principles, it seems to me indubitable that the Whigs would never have taken up the side of Hanover, if they had not thought it the surest way to turn out the Tories and to get back the Government into their own hands; so that no one in the world will be more surprised than myself if these same Whigs are not the very first to desert that cause as soon as they see the House of Hanover come to a good understanding with the Queen and the Ministry.

2. I do not enter into the question whether Holland is really as much intimidated as the author believes, since he may possibly be better informed than myself on this point: I will even admit that Holland was not less thunderstruck by the Peace of Rastadt than annoyed at having to come to that of Utrecht. But as she is about to put herself in a position of security, through the measures which (according to the very probable opinion of the author) she is about to concert with the Emperor for the mutual safety of the Low Countries and the Rhine, and as moreover she is already resolved to take up a commanding position by sea, I dare to affirm that this Republic has nothing to fear on the side of the Pretender, if the said good understanding is established.

3. The House of Hanover being out of reach, I find it on that very account the more obliged to make itself accessible, this being the surest means to secure the succession. This is, in my opinion, the very point on which there is no time to be lost, even though the Whigs should on that account desert their side, as they have threatened to do. My reason is, that they are of no great importance in comparison with the mass of the nation, and that they will always hitch on to Hanover again as soon as they think that there is any real ground for believing that the Ministry is disposed again to bring in the

Pretender. Moreover, as it is evident that the August House will gain more and more with the mass of the nation, by the good understanding in question, it may console itself the more readily for the present defection of the Whigs; seeing that the nation is, both by principle and inclination, for Royalty and the Hanoverian Succession; while the Whigs are suspected, not without reason, to be inclined at bottom to the introduction of a Republican Government.

4. As to the conduct of the English Ministry, as I do not pretend to excuse it when it is unjustifiable, I grant that I have myself complained on certain occasions of their indolence, delays, and indifference. But is it not amusing that those same persons should be dissatisfied and blame them for want of severity, who are continually insulting them to the utmost, and tearing their honour to pieces by the most atrocious abuse at times, not sparing the Queen herself? I come to the fact: I find their present situation much more to be pitied than envied; namely, having to serve a woman whose life is precarious, who is without descendants, and whose successor, educated out of the kingdom, is so prejudiced in favour of their bitterest enemies, that from day to day they must dread (even supposing that in their hearts they are for the House of Hanover) to see themselves exposed to the resentment of an implacable hatred, and made responsible for the misfortunes of which their enemies have been for the most part the cause.

After all, what do you want them to do, even if they were all equally opposed to the Pretender? Are they to make war upon the King of France and the Duke of Lorraine, in order to have him sent further off, if they will not defer to the instances which have been continually made on this subject? Do you want them to prosecute the parsons who, out of their hatred to the Whigs, preach in favour of the Pretender? Do you wish for a second Sacheverel affair, to make yourselves the laughing-stock of all Europe? *Vestigia terrent.*

In truth, if the author was here and saw the continual difficulties in which the intrigues of the most active party that ever existed are continually placing the Ministry with regard

to *home affairs, he would not be much surprised at the little leisure they have for foreign affairs;* he would find that chance has a good deal more to do with many omissions than anything else, and he would admit that the resentment shown against certain persons was by no means for having spoken in favour of the Protestant Succession, but for having set themselves up as firebrands and done nothing less than sound the tocsin. *Quod si hic esses, aliud sentires.*

After all, it is impossible that all these reasonings should have escaped the great discernment of the author of the Memoir, since he himself winds up the matter in question by saying, that it is right to advise the Court of Hanover to be on good terms with the Queen;* I hope he will say as much with respect to the Ministry, if he will only remember that, without its assistance, it is morally impossible for France to bring in the Pretender. As for myself I am very much at ease on that score, if the good understanding in question be established, knowing, beyond a doubt, that the Ministry in general wants nothing else, as well as to renew the good understanding with the Emperor and the Empire, not to speak of that of the States-General.

These, Sir, are my poor opinions. If I have in many places confined myself to general terms, it is because I thought it dangerous to enter into particulars, contenting myself with having done so in my private letters to you. I fear even that I have said too much about the true situation of the Ministry; but as, in my opinion, nothing can prove the necessity of the good understanding in question more than showing what may be naturally expected without it, I have thought it my duty to speak as I have done; the more so, that I count upon your making a good use of what I say. I hope to be able to tell you more in my next letter, being in too great pain to do so at present.

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* There was an Address to this purpose in the House of Commons.

198.] SCHULENBURG TO LEIBNITZ.

Embden, July 12th, 1714.

Sir,

Not having had the pleasure of receiving any letter from you by several posts, I believed you were on your road to these quarters; but I am undeceived by yours of the 30th of June. I do not think that the Electoral Prince will get his father to consent to his entering the Council of State, though he desires it ardently. I confess that the father treats his son too harshly, in not choosing to gratify him in the slightest of his wishes, particularly in regard to a regiment, and a few thousand crowns a year addition to his income; but, on the other hand, the son demeans himself in a way that his father has just reason to complain of. He says, among other things, that he dare not put him into the Council of War, knowing of a certainty that he blabs everything to the women. Just now they are on good terms, as I noted to you before, so that it really depends only upon the Prince to make matters take another course. I have had no letters from England for some posts: I do not know whether my correspondent is ill. Other news say that Bolingbroke is strengthening himself by means of the Jacobites; that his credit rises in proportion as that of the Treasurer sinks. I grant that M. de Bothmer, who is a man of merit and probity, and who is well qualified as a negotiator, is the most proper person to send to England; but they are prejudiced against him in that country. The Queen and the Ministry detest him, and you know what the result of that may be. The Minister himself, from what he told me, is persuaded that, under the present circumstances, he cannot do any good in that country.* Robethon is able; but his violent passions and party-spirit sometimes make him drive on the wrong side; he is hated and persecuted by the Hanoverian Ministry, with the exception of Bernstorff, who

* Over this passage Leibnitz has written, "Ceux qui sont contraires à M. de Bothmar, ne le sont que par un mauvais principe, ainsi il ne faut pas y avoir égard."

supports him. They report to me also that the Duke of Savoy has taken it into his head to protest* against the Hanoverian Succession in England, on the ground that his son is the next heir, if the Prince of Wales is to be excluded. I remember he often told me, that the Parliament had made overtures to him of the inclination they felt for his line, and that, in order to be successful, he had only to send his Prince to England and have him brought up in the Anglican faith. Mr. Hill was carrying on some negotiation on that subject when I was at Turin. Strafford is still busy doing as much mischief as he can; he attempted to embarrass the Spanish Treaty by having the clause about the kingdom of Sicily inserted in it, which however was rejected; nevertheless this Peace was signed at his house, in spite of the opposition of the Dutch. He pretends now to the direction in the agreement for the barrier. The Emperor has complained to the Queen of the little respect which this man shows him, declaring, at the same time, that he will never allow him to be present where he, the Emperor, has anything to treat of. I am surprised at the return of Joslinga, who is a man of merit, and that they leave M. Buys alone at Paris: he is a good talker, and a man of honour, but so full of himself, so pedantic and extravagant, that any one who knows how to take him by his weak side can lead him, and make him do anything he pleases. The departure and journey of the King of Sweden are spoken of very differently; some believe him to be with Stanislaus, others think he is still at Demotica, with the intention of going into Poland, in order to throw the affairs of that country into confusion again. The King of Sicily will be at this time setting out to return to his Italian States. Göritz has left Berlin; and M. Bassewitz, the Envoy from Holstein, has returned to that city from the Czar: he is said to be spreading about very important reports respecting Göritz, so that no one knows where it may end. They write to

* Interlined by Leibnitz: "Il l'a déjà fait, quand le Roy Guillaume fit faire le premier acte pour la Succession. Le Roy y a esté porté pour se venger du Duc, qui l'avoit abandonné un peu avant la Paix de Riswick."

me that the King of Prussia is extremely dissatisfied with Göritz; nevertheless they fear the man at this Court, lest he should play them some trick. I told you in one of my former letters that they would not listen there to the proposals of France, England, Sweden, and Holstein, but that the whole was referred to the Emperor; or they required that the Elector of Hanover should be persuaded to enter into the same views with this Court, the Elector being determined to conform entirely to what his father-in-law should do. Our private advices say that the Emperor has come to a good understanding with the French; that they mean to abrogate the article in the Treaty of Utrecht by which Philip is excluded, in order to remove the Duke of Orléans from the Succession in case the Dauphin should die. Nothing will be done at Baden, I am told, in favour of the Protestant religion; quite the reverse: they want to form a league adverse to it among the principal Catholic Powers. I know the Englishman Middleton very well; he is a young man who is seeking his fortune, as he says; he is steady; if there is anything secret in his game, I know nothing of it. You will cut pretty much the same figure as I did at Magdeburg among the troop of debauchees whom you sometimes frequent at Vienna; however they are men of talents and of merit.

I am, Sir, etc. etc.,

SCHULENBURG.

M. Friesendorf, who is at Berlin, is going to Brunswick, accredited on the part of the King his master, by which one sees that Sweden begins to listen to reason. What say you to the death of the Duc de Berri? The old gentleman will be thrown into no little embarrassment by it; he would be glad enough to have his grandson the King of Spain, with all his lineage, back again in France. The Emperor and the Allies would like to have the Duke of Orléans in Spain, where he would cut out a good deal of work for the French. Why are not you and I younger? We might still witness many a revolution.

199.] STEINGHENS TO SCHULENBURG.

Bath, July 24th, 1714.

If I had the Hanoverian Succession in these kingdoms less at heart, I would have spared you the trouble of reading this, and the annoyance of learning things which are incompatible with our views, at any rate until my return to town. Do not look for any order in my discourse, my heart is too full; and I cannot refrain from telling you that, at the very moment when we are working ourselves to death at everything (except indeed consenting to the coming of the Prince, because absolutely this is as yet out of season) to oblige and reassure the House and Court of Hanover, this House seems to forget nothing which may chagrin and shock the Court of England, at the same time that it raises an alarm about the Pretender. I am not going to speak about the Elector's choice of M. de Bothmer, seeing that I have this moment myself been excusing it, on the ground that, as this Minister was the most within reach to pass into England, his E. H. thought it best to prefer him to any one else, in order not to delay the duty of the notification. What I allude to is *the communication of copies of letters which the Queen and her Prime Minister wrote* in the deepest confidence to the late Electress and to the Electoral Prince, which letters are seen and cried about the streets in print, to the great scandal and in despite of the Court, and all those who are well-affectioned to the Hanoverian Succession, of whom there are a great number among the Tories; meanwhile the Whigs laugh at them to their faces, and speak with the utmost contempt of the Queen, for having suffered herself to be duped by their importunities into setting a price upon her brother's head. I have reason to doubt that they will not take for sterling coin the excuse that the Elector had nothing to do with this communication, and that he greatly disapproves of it, of which I myself am fully persuaded. If they expected to witness the resentment of his E. H. against those of his Ministers who dared, unknown to him, to take part in the affair of the Writ, although with his mo-

ther's consent, do you believe, Sir, that it will be less expected in the present case, even supposing the Prince to be concerned in it, which I suppose he is not? Do you believe that if, instead of showing this resentment, his E. H. continues to honour with his esteem those of his Ministers whom her Majesty's Ministry look upon as the intimate friends and blind instruments of the designs of their irreconcilable enemies, that that is the way to gain the confidence of the Queen, her Ministry, and the Hanoverian Tories? Do not tell me, if you please, that it was not believed that these letters would be divulged; for this is precisely the effect of not having the exact knowledge of the country, and of the real intentions of these folks who have spared no cost to gain their ends (witness the trick they played Prince Eugene the moment after his departure), which are to prevent by any means the possibility of a good understanding between the House of Hanover and the party opposed to themselves, inasmuch as they think that they have no other assurance of coming into power themselves, to the entire exclusion of the said party. And do not tell me either, what the same people no doubt would insinuate, that after the *price set upon the head of the Pretender*, that good understanding is a matter of indifference; for I should reply, that the same Parliament which set a price upon King Charles's head in November, recalled him, unless I am mistaken, in the following March; so that I conclude that we must always keep our eyes open, and have a wary look after those who may do mischief. As for the rest, you may count upon my earliest answer to the prejudices of your friend's last memoir. Be kind enough to do as much upon the attachment with which I am, etc. etc.,

STEINGHENS.

200.] SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH, TO DE BONNEVAL.

Antwerp, July 29, 1714, *O.S.*

Sir,

It was with a great deal of satisfaction that I received the

favour of yours of the 30th of June, & I must once more beg of you to make my acknowledgements to the prince in the best manner that you can; for I am very sure no body can wish him more happinesse then I do of all sorts, nor bee with more respect then I am, his humble Servant.

I was extreamly pleased to find that you had so much as a thought of seeing England; if that should ever happen, I hope it will bee before I die, that I may make you as welkome as 'tis possible, and in doing so, some amends for your sufferings with us at Frankfort. The D. of Marlborough (who is much your humble Servant) has taken his resolution to leave this place for England: tho' I cannot say there is such a change there, as is raisonable to wish: however it will bee better to pass the little time wee have left with our friends, and in good trusts, then to bee like pilgriames as wee have been for almost two yeares.

I am sure I need not give you an account of what has been don lately concerning the proclamation against the . . . You will be much puzled, I beleive, to find out the meaning of such a thing from a Ministry and parliament, that have don so much to advance the interest of that . . . and his Holiness. All the good that I see by it, is, that it looks as if there were realy differences among the Ministers, & that they find the generality of the nation will not have the . . . to be their king; which must fall very heavy upon them, when it appears to the whole nation, that the peace is of no advantage, but to particular people who have sold their country for their own private gain. I beg your pardon for my pollitieks, as well as for all the trouble given you by

Your most faithfull humble Servant,

S: MARLBOROUGH.

I have had an account from England, that in the time of the Queen's great illnesse, the Ministers made bold to open the instrument with the Regents names, which was in the Chancellours hands, and had taken a private resolution to seise them, in case the Queen had dyed. As new instruments

are now going from Hannover, to bee exchanged for the old ones, which are void upon the death of the Princesse Sophia they are extreamly embarassed, it being high treason to have opened them. And it not being possible to seal them up again in such a manner that it shall not appear; the Queen has been so good as to promise that she will say she opened this instrument with her own hands, in case there should happen any trouble upon it. However, for fear of the worst, My lord Chancellour has privately taken out a pardon. This was discovered by My lord Treasurer's Friends, who was busy in his own Office when hee thought the Queen would dye, and not being guilty by the Law in that matter, not being present, hee has thought fit to discover this in a private way, to hurt my lord Bullingbrook and the Chancelour, who have presumed to set up an interest against him.

I had a letter this moment from England, that gives an account that My lord Treasurer and My lord Bullingbrook are at daggers drawing: but I fancy sometimes 'tis only like fencers, to amuse the spectators; but I think a very short time must shew whether they will patch up.

In the foregoing letters allusion has several times been made to a Whig intrigue to bring over the Electoral Prince, afterwards George II., to take his place in the House of Lords as Duke of Cambridge. Several of the steps connected with this attack upon the Queen are recorded in Macpherson. It is evident that the leaders of the Whig party, and the party of the Electress in Hanover, acted in concert, but that they were not cordially supported by the Elector himself; he seems to have been heartily sick of the troubles in which his new inheritance was likely to involve him, of the grasping avarice and impudent profligacy of the English statesmen, and would, but for very shame, have been glad to wash

his hands of the whole business. I think it not at all improbable that Roger Acherley, Esq., barrister and pamphleteer, was really the first person who advised the moving the Writ, his correspondence with Leibnitz on the subject commencing as early as the 25th of July, 1712, and continuing till the death of Queen Anne made the intrigue unnecessary; at all events the way in which he represents his share in it is amusing, and characteristic of the period. I am afraid that, like many other good friends of the House of Hanover, he was not rewarded in a manner proportioned to his own estimate of his merits, and certainly between Leibnitz and Bothmer he seems to have had some cause for complaint; at any rate I cannot find that a plan he had formed of turning Sir Isaac Newton out of his Mastership of the Mint met with any success.

201.] ACHERLEY TO LEIBNITZ.

London, 3 *Aug.*, 1714.

May itt please yor Excellency,

This Reminds you of the many Letters and Schemes I have troubled you with in relacon to ye Securing the peaceable Accession of our Illustrious House of Hanover to ye Throne of Great Britain, which thoughts yor Excellency was pleased to say were well accepted att that Court.

As to my last Project of his Royall Highnesse the Duke of Cambridg's Demanding his Writt of Sumons to the Parliam^t^: Tho' Itt had not the wisld Effect, yett itt had rather a more Effectuall Effect than was expected as appears in these particulers.

1. Itt raisd a mighty fferment in the People and discoverd their warm inclinacions to have the Duke amongst 'em, as th' onely means to remoue their ffears.

2. Itt created such a jealousy amongst the Ministers that

each suspected th' other to have deserted him as if hee had made private Applicacions for himselfe to his Electorall Highnesse, And Each accused and bely'd th' other to the Queen, as the Adviser & contriver of the Demand, & that Embarassd both her and themselues.

3. Itt rais'd an Excessive ffear and jealousy & Suspition in the Queen, Lest Shee shou'd bee Abandon'd & forsaken, and That joind to her ill habit of Body collaterally accelerated her End & Death.

The Kings Matie thereupon hath in peace Ascended the Throne of Great Britain. Your Excellency was pleased to say That my Endeavoers shoud in a propper time bee remembred.

The happy Day is come; His Electorall Highnesse is come into his Kingdome. Itt is my Vnhappinesse not to Speak ffrench, and his Excellency Baron Bothmer Speaks noe English; soe that I cannot expect to doe any thing with him.

Itt hath been my ffortune for 4 years to bee mark'd out as a Zealot for the House of Hanover, & as such to haue Suffered with their other ffreinds.

Baron Bothmer is now Soe Surrounded by importunate Pretenders to his Maties ffavours, That I have little hopes that any notice wil bee taken of mee: Therefore claiming the Benefitt of yor Intimacions I humbly intreat you to write a particuler Letter to the King Recomending mee to his Ma^tics^ Remembrance. What I have to ask is small, & will not occasion either Expence or Vneasinesse, I hope yor Excellency will not Esteem this Letter as troublesome or impertinent from

Yo^r^ most humble Servt,

ROGER ACHERLY.

I begg you to direct mee soe as I may apply to some propper person to Effect my Small Affair which is only to have an Office propper only for a Lawyer. Please to favour mee with a Line in ffrench Directed to mee in Bell Yard near Temple Barr, London.

I am more and more informd & Satisfyed That the Demand

of y^e^ Writt was as bad as a Bomb thrown amongst the Queen & her Ministers, and had the like Effect.

202.] ACHERLEY TO LEIBNITZ.

London, October 12th, 1714.

My Lord,

I most humbly thank your Excellency for the Favour of your 2 letters, Th' one of the $\frac{28}{17}$ of September, and th' other of the 2^d^ of October instant (viz. 21 September) 1714, with the inclosed letter to the Baron d' Bothmer, which I myselfe delivered to him; I now trouble your Excellency, because I find in yours of the 2^d^ instant, these words:—

"Mais je ne savois pas que vous avies conseillé la demande du Writt comme elle a esté faite, sans ordre du Roy, et qu'on m'a dit que sa Majesté n'en a pas été entièrement contente; je ne saurois dire s'il sera bon ou non que vous vous fondiés là-dessus auprès de ce Monarque, mais cela ne sauroit etre désagréable a Monseigneur le Prince Royal."

Now S^r^ with great submission, I think you rob yourselfe of the honour you ought to have for your share in the matter of the Writt. For you know very well the honour I assumed in corresponding with the Ministers of the Illustrious House of Hannover: in August and September, 1712, I laid before his Electorall Highnesse my 2 first Memoirs, which were transmitted by Doctor Brandshagen. Your Excellency was the first Minister that wrote to mee from Hannover, in which you were pleased to say that you had orders from his Electorall Highnesse to tell mee that my Propositions were found reasonable, and well grounded, and that suitable returnes should bee made whenever an opportunity would permitt, and that I was desired to proceede, etc.

After that I wrote a third Memoir and a letter to his Electorall Highnesse, and Mr Brandshagen sent 'em all in a cover to your Excellency, and they followed you to Vienna, from whence you remitted 'em to Hannover: In answer I received

a kind letter, as from his Electorall Highnesse, signed T: B. which was by special order delivered to mee, by Monsieur Kryneberg's Secretary; And you were pleased in a letter from Vienna to Mr Brandshagen, to assure mee that there was made no small Consideration by the Elector and his Ministers of my Thoughts.

Baron Bothmer in severall letters ordered Mr Brandshagen to tell mee that my Propositions were highly esteemed att Hannover.

The subject matter of all this Correspondence beeing my Projections for Introducing a Prince of that Illustrious House into this kingdom with honor and safety, To the intent to secure their succession, which all men apprehended to bee then in the utmost danger; Your Excellency knows how I pressed his Electorall Highnesse to endeavour that the Article in the treaty of Utrecht, touching the acknowledging the Hannover Succession, might bee explained by declaring a Liberty to the Princes of that House to reside in England; that their presence and possession might enable them to defend their right in like manner as the Queene, in her speech, said, That the French Princes to whome the succession of that Crowne belong'd would bee ready and powerfull enough to vindicate their owne right; and for this purpose I humbly proposed that his Electorall Highnesse would prevail on the Princesse Sophia to demise or surrender her Title, to make the Elector the immediate successor. But all these my projects, (tho' highly esteem'd) were not put in practise, Because wee had then a House of Commons intirely influenced by the Ministry, who being disaffected to the House of Hannover and their Allyes, made all their Court to France. Things rested thus till Septr 1713, when Doctor Brandshagen informed mee that your Excellency desired to know whether I had any further Thoughts about introducing here a Prince, etc.

Bee pleased now to observe that sometimes from weak Seedes there happen great events. In my letter to your Excellency dated $\frac{3}{14}$ Octobris 1713, I laid the whole scheme of introducing a Prince, etc., and proposed my opinion as to the person, the

time, and method of doing itt. As to the Person, itt ought not to bee the Princesse Sophia, because of her Great Age; nor the Elector, because hee was a Soveraigne Prince, and had great Dominions of his owne to governe; but that itt ought to bee the Duke of Cambridge, because hee was a Duke and Peer of Great Britain, and had a right to sitt and vote in Parliament. As to the time; that the best time to attempt itt, would bee about a week after the Queen had made her Speech to the Parliament, that was then just chosen, for reasons I then suggested: and as to the method; that the best way would bee, to demand of the Queen by a petition, that the Duke of Cambridg's writt might bee sent by a propper Messenger to call him to sitt and vote in that Parliament, and gave reasons for the necessity and practicability of that Method.

Your Excellency by a letter in the French tongue dated att Vienna $\frac{13}{2}$ January, $171\frac{4}{5}$, informed mee that you had received my letter of the 20th of October, 1713, and had communicated my Thoughts to the Court of Hannover, where the same were approved by the Elector and his Ministers.

By this correspondence with your Excellency Itt appeares, That I advised the writt on the 20th of October, 1713.

The Parliament was putt off from week to week till the second of March, $17\frac{13}{14}$, att the meeting whereof the Queen made a Speech full of bold and daring Expressions, pointed att the House of Hannover.

From this time your Excellency's remote situation at Vienna made itt necessary that my future letters should goe directly with speed to Hannover, and therefore I sent 'em all to Baron Bothmer, to bee dispatched away to that Court.

I wrote a patheticall letter to Baron Bothmer, dated the 9th of March, $17\frac{13}{14}$, and informed him of the contents of my letter to your Excellency of the 20th of October, 1713, and of your answer, and moreover argued the necessity of the Duke of Cambridge's petitioning the Queene for the writt, and sent him the forme of such a Petition inclosed in that letter, and desired him to transmitt the letter and petition to the Court of Hanover.

Some few days after this, the Lord Treasurer (whome I tooke to bee the cheife conspirator) made a motion in the House of Lords for leave to bring in a Bill or Law to prevent the introducing into this Kingdom any forreigne Troopes. This motion alarmed mee and all the City, and therefore I wrote another letter, dated the 19th March, $17\frac{13}{14}$, more pressing than the former, urging that the Conspirator by that motion had laid the Ax to the root of the Succession; that the stroke was levelled at the Elector, and in my opinion was an attack in forme; and therefore necessity required the Duke of Cambridge to hasten his petition and journey, and that nothing but his presence could stay the tide.

I beleeve this letter precipitated the Demand of the Writt, for on the 24th day after the date of this letter (vizt on the 12th of April, 1714) Baron Schütz demanded the Writt of Chancellor, which occasioned such universall joy on one side, and such a consternation in the Ministry and the Pretender's party, as was never parallelled.

All these things are facts apparent; now I relate what I partly know and partly am informed, vizt:

That the Court of Hanover sent to Baron Schütz a Petition from the Duke of Cambridge to the Queene, praying her to grant him his Writt to call him to sitt in Parliament; and ordered him to present the Petition to the Queene, which was modelled according to my advice.

That Baron Schütz shewed the Petition to the Prime Minister, (The Treasurer) and desired to bee introduced to the Queene to deliver itt to her.

That this Prime Minister imediately contrived a Trick to frustrate the effect of the Writt, and represented to Baron Schütz, That it was improper to trouble the Queene with the Petition in such an extraordinary manner, Because Shee had already done all that was necessary on her part, by issuing out her proclamation under the Great Seale, to call a Parliament, and had thereby ordered the Chancellor to make and send Writts to every Nobleman, and that hee had soe done, and that this demand (being a matter of ordinary Course) Hee, the Prime

Minister, advised Mr Schütz to goe to the Chancellor and demand the Writt.

That Mr Schütz apprehending himself to bee rightly advised, went imediately to the Chancellor and demanded the Writt, which putt the Chancellor into a terrible disorder and doubt how to behave himselfe.

That in the meane time the Prime Minister went to the Queene, and incensed her against the House of Hannover, as if they were guilty of the greatest rudenesse and insolence towards her, for demanding the Writt of the Chancellor, without first breaking the designe to the Queene.

That the Queene tooke occasion from that Pretence to forbid Baron Schütz to appear att Court: That when Baron Schütz came to Hanover, hee was reprimanded for spoiling the wholl scheme by demanding the Writt of the Chancellor, instead of delivering the Petition to the Queene as hee was ordered.

That Baron Schütz excused himselfe by insisting that hee went about to deliver the petition to the Queene, and was diverted and advised by the Prime Minister, not to doe itt, but to demand the Writt of the Chancellor; and if there were a fault, itt ought to be charged on the Treasurer.

That notice of this Transaction being sent by Mr Tho. Harley to London, Mr Bromley, Secretary of State, (who probably knew nothing of the Petition,) did, in the House of Commons, positively declare, That his Electorall Highnesse had disowned that hee ever gave any orders to Baron Schütz, to demand the Writt of the Chancellor.

This dash'd downe the Whiggs, and elevated the Toryes, whoe there vpon grew insolent, and the Hanoverian party were depressed into the lowest humiliation and disappointment.

That the Ministers there vpon tooke new courage; and framed those vnaccountable letters that were sent to Hanover to abuse and insult the wholl family of Princes of the Blood Royall.

That the Prime Minister having putt a lye into the mouth

of the Expresse that carryed those letters, Mr Thomas Harley, to th' intent to give the Expresse time to divulge itt, kept the letters (after hee received 'em) att least 24 hours, in his custody, during which time the Expresse, (with the vtmost confidence and perseverance,) published the falshood, vizt, That hee had brought letters to invite the Prince into England, and that this Report caused Transports of Joy att the Court of Hanover.

That when the letters came to be opened and read, the Bitternesse of 'em caused such Resentments and Convulsions in her Royall Highnesse the Princesse Sophia that shee tooke to her Bed that afternoone and dyed the next day.

That his Electorall Highnesse in justification of himselfe wrote a Letter to the Queene, wherein hee expostulated with her, why shee would charge him with Rudenesse about not broaching to her the matter of the Writt, when itt was her owne Prime Minister, the Treasurer, that advised Schütz to demand the Writt of the Chancellor.

That when the Queene received this letter, shee comunicated itt to Bolingbroke and the Chancellor, etc., who there vpon concluded that the Treasurer had betrayed 'em to the House of Hanover, and was really in the bottome of the Advice to demand the Writt, in case the fact alledged in the Elector's letter were true; to determine which, the Treasurer was sent for, and the Queene, holding the Elector's letter open in her hand, told him that the Elector had charged him with advising the demand of the Writt of the Chancellor, and demanded to know whether hee did soe or not.

That the Treasurer being astonished and conscious to himselfe, confessed hee had soe done, and endeavoured to give itt very artfull turns.

That from that moment, the Queene resolved to domolish the Treasurer.

That the Treasurer neverthelesse fancyed that hee had merited of the Hanover family, (tho' in fact hee endeavoured to elude the force of the Writt,) omitted nothing that might look like magnanimity, and expostulated with the Queene herself, and

insulted his fellow ministers, and raised such a commotion att Court, that the Queene was vexed and frighted, and that putt a stop to her gouty humours, that were att that time beginning to disperse into her hands and feet, and turn'd 'em upp into her head, and killed her as effectually and almost as suddenly as if shee had been shott with a Pistoll.

Upon this a glorious scene was opened; for whereas my designe reached no further than to introduce the Duke of Cambridge, in order by ordinary meanes to secure the Elector's peaceable accession to the Crowne in some remote distance of time, Providence turned the demand of the Writt a better way, and ordered itt soe, that instead of introducing the Duke of Cambridge, itt has been the means of his Majesty's speedy, sudden, and unexpected ascending the throne of a rich, powerfull and glorious kingdome.

These events are soe surprizing and glorious, that they seem even in our owne eyes, fabulous and not reall; The wholl body of the King's friends, (except myselfe,) enjoy the beneficiall influences of his Power, and of his kindnesse for services done him. One woud think that when my services have been soe advantagious to the wholl Royall family and the wholl Kingdom, and happened for the best, soe far beyond all human expectation, that one might modestly expect such favours as woud bear some proportion to the importance of the service, and the rather, because if I had been discovered, I had been sacrificed to the rage of the Pretender's Party.

My vnhappinesse is, that I laid the scheme between your Excellency and Baron Bothmer. The beginning was laid with your Excellency, but the finishing part was transacted with Baron Bothmer; hee knows not the beginning of my advice, neither does your Excellency know the finishing part of itt; soe that between both, I am in danger of being not esteemed, (tho' I really was) the adviser of the Writt.

I depend, that in justice to yourselfe as well as to mee, You will please (as I doe intreat you) to write mee a testimonial of the matters, that I advised in my letter to you of the 20th of October 1713, for in that letter was specifyed my first advice

to demand the Writt of summons for the Duke of Cambridge, And that advice was given vpon your inquiring which was the best method of introducing into England a Prince of that Illustrious family.

I humbly intreate your Pardon to him Who with all imaginable Deference is

My Lord,
Your Excellencies most obedient humble Servant,
ROGER ACHERLEY.

Baron Schütz being here, received all his orders from Hanover; Itts improbable hee shoud know whoe was the Adviser of the Writt.

203.] LEIBNITZ TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Hanover, ce 10 *de May*, 1715.

Madame,

Ce que V. A. R. m'a fait dire par Mlle de Pelniz peut passer pour une grâce très insigne, ou pour une menace très grande, car ce n'est qu'à condition qu'Elle obtienne du Roy la charge que je demande, qu'Elle me fait espérer de pouvoir revoir un jour ses prétieux caractères addressés à moy-même. Mais je veux le tourner du côté de l'espérance;

Speranza,
Speranza non lasciare, ni abandonne il cor.

Elle est tousjours plus agréable que la crainte; et j'en remercie V. A. R. de tout mon cœur. Sa bonté me rendra le bienfait du Roy encore plus souhaitable, et me fera travailler plus ardemment pour le mériter. Il est vray que ce qui me fait ambitionner le poste en question, est en bonne partie le point d'honneur. Je ne voudrois céder en rien à un certain Antagoniste que les Anglois m'ont mis en tête. V. A. R. saura peut-être que c'est le Chevalier Newton, qui a une pension du Roy, parce qu'il a l'inspection sur la Monnoye. Lorsque la cour

d'Hanover n'étoit pas trop bien avec celle d'Angleterre, pendant le règne du dernier Ministère, quelques-uns crurent que le temps leur étoit favorable pour m'attaquer, et me disputer l'honneur d'une invention qu'on m'attribue depuis l'an 1684. Un journaliste Hollandois, ou plus tost François, écrivant en Hollande, dit là-dessus, qu'il sembloit que ce n'étoit pas une querelle entre Mr Newton et moy, mais entre l'Allemagne et l'Angleterre. Mais un savant homme m'écrivit d'Angleterre, que l'esprit de quelques Rigides peu favorables au parti d'Hanover, tant à Cambridge (d'où M. Newton est venu à Londres) qu'à Oxford (où se trouvent ses seconds), y avoit beaucoup de part. J'ose dire que si le Roy m'égaloit pour le moins à M. Newton à tous égards (comme un de ses plus anciens serviteurs le peut espérer), que dans ces circonstances, ce seroit faire honneur à Hanover et à Allemagne en ma personne; et la qualité d'Historien, où je prétends m'être distingué, en fournit une belle occasion.

Je n'ay pas eu le loisir de répondre à M. Newton et à ses seconds, qui sont venus à la charge il y a un an ou environ; mais d'autres habiles gens, même en France et en Suisse, l'ont fait pour moy. Il est vray que des amis me pressent d'examiner par moy-même la philosophie de M. Newton, qui est un peu extraordinaire. Il prétend qu'un corps attire l'autre à quelque distance que ce soit, et qu'un grain de sable chez nous exerce une force attractive jusques sur le soleil, sans aucun milieu ni moyen. Après cela, comment ses sectateurs voudront-ils nier que par la toute-puissance de Dieu nous pouvons avoir participation du corps et du sang de Jésus-Christ, sans aucun empêchement des distances? C'est un bon moyen de les embarrasser,—des gens, qui par un esprit d'animosité contre la Maison d'Hanover, s'émancipent maintenant plusque jamais de parler contre nostre Religion de la Confession d'Augsbourg, comme si notre Réalité Eucharistique étoit absurde. Pour moy, je crois qu'il faut réserver une opération extraordinaire et miraculeuse en effect pour les Mystères divins, et ne les point faire entrer dans l'explication des choses naturelles. Ainsi mes Antagonistes me donnent assés de prise, mais je n'ay point le

loysir maintenant de me servir de mes avantages : j'aime mieux de satisfaire au Roy, en donnant mes Annales, et Sa Majesté pourra mieux réfuter ces gens que moy, en me traitant à l'égal de M. le Chevalier Newton ; ce qui piquera assurément ces Messieurs, peu amis d'Hanover. Mais quantité d'honnêtes et d'habiles gens en Angleterre en seront bien aises, et il y en a assés qui me font l'honneur de m'estimer.

Je suis avec dévotion, Madame, etc.,

LEIBNITZ.

P.S.—J'admire que V. A. R. paroist avoir déjà trouué le foible de M. Locke. Son liure sur l'entendement contient quelques bonnes choses, mais assés minces, et il y en a beaucoup qui n'ont aucune solidité. Je le trouue aussi un peu ennuyeux, et il s'en faut beaucoup qu'il aille au fond des choses. Ce sont souuent des subtilités qui ne font qu'effleurer. Son amie, Madame Masham, fille du célèbre M. Cudworth, étoit ma correspondante. Elle mouroit un peu après luy. Je trouuay bien du mérite à cette dame ; mais M. Locke se trouua un peu moins philosophe que je n'avois cru. J'auois fait quelques *remarques* sur son liure. Il s'en fâcha ; je ne l'ay pas appris que par un Recueil de ses Posthumes, où elles se trouuent insérées, et où il en parle auec mépris, dans une lettre à un savant à Dublin nommé M. Molineux. Mais tout le monde n'est pas de son avis, et une personne capable d'en juger dit que ce qu'il y a de meilleur dans ce Recueil sont mes objections. Son mépris venoit apparemment de ce que mes sentimens sont diamétralement opposés aux siens, sur des grands articles ; et il ne me connoissoit pas assés, ni mes raisons. Il paroist que selon luy tout est corporel, que la matière est capable de penser, et choses semblables, qui ruinent la religion. Ces Messieurs s'imaginent qu'on ne sauroit avoir l'esprit fort ny solide, sans être de leur sentiment.

Si V. A. R. jette les yeux sur la seconde édition des Caractéristiques de Mylord Shafsbury (mort à Naples il y a deux ans ou environ), Elle y trouuera quelque chose de moy : au moins si l'on a suivi son intention, et si M. Coste a pu tenir

parole, qui étoit son correspondent, et gouverneur (je crois) de son fils. Je fis quelques remarques sur l'ouvrage de ce Mylord, qui est profond en effect, et dont il m'avoit fait présent par M. Coste. Il trouua mes remarques si à son gré (quoiqu'il y en eût où je n'étois pas de son sentiment) qu'il voulut qu'elles fussent jointes à la Seconde Édition de son ouurage. Il étoit fils du célèbre Chancelier Shafsbury. Je suis fâché de sa mort, et je crois qu'il auroit contenté V. A. R. Il avoit été Locciste au commencement, mais dans le progrès de ses méditations il s'étoit approché de mes sentimens, sans les savoir. Je ne say si M. Coste a eu l'honneur d'être remarqué de V. A. R. à Hanover. Il y avoit été avec un jeune Anglois. Il est François Réformé. C'est luy qui a traduit en François l'ouurage de M. Locke, mais je crois que V. A. R. le lit en Anglois.

204.] CAROLINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, TO LEIBNITZ.

St. James, le ¼ *9ber*, 1715.

Douvien que vous croié, Monsieur, que je puise oubliger vn home telle que vous? et même toute la tere m'anferais resouvenir. Jispere que quand vous verais le Roy, qu'il vous condantera, et je ne toute pas qu'il aura lieux de lesttre de vous. Je n'ay point estté charmé de lexperimant du colonelle becker; la chose, selon moy, ett impratiquable. Hier nous avons veu d'une autre espesse, qui na'pas plus reusi; c'estoit de pouvoir preuller vn veseau de loin; je ne scais dons rien le preuit que lon avoulu preuller St James, avec le Roy et toute sa familge; j'avoue que je suis des incredulle. Je vous ayee beaucoup d'oblication des soins que vous me marquée dans votre lettre; je dois rander jusdice au femes et dames angloise qui sont alantour de moy, quelle me servee avec toute ladantion du monde. J'ay parlais ancore aujourdehuis avec L'Eveque de lincolme, pour la tratuction de votre theodice; il ny apersone capable de sela, a ce quil m'assure, que le docteur clerque, don je vous ayee anvoiyié des livres par onhausen. Ce même home et amié indimé du chevalié nuthon, et je ne crois pas la chose

en fort bone mains. J'espere que la tracdestion de pope que ji vous ayes ausy anvoiyée vous fera tout a fait decider pour le merite du bonhome homer; je souhaiteray avec vous que lon peu deschifrere les voiages d'ulisce. Il yades persone icy qui crois que tout se livre et plus to vne moralle que des voiages. Il me samble que lamour de la paterie du Suedois luy a fait mestre les chants elicien au son peais; il me samble que c'estois plus tost c'est endroit ou il faisoit le saquerifice d'un bouque noire au anfere, apres quoy il vit les ame, et. sy je ne me trompé, sa mere. Je n'ay pas veu adisson, de quelque semaine; sa tragity est tres belles, et caton luy meme ne se plainderay pas des santimant noble et dinge d'un home come luy qu'il luy a done. Je n'ay pas veu la francoise. Falaiscau, don vous voulée savoir des nouvelles, a encore une petite pansion du duc de Montécu; on ne parle pas avec trop d'avantage de luy. Il n'a pas paru icy depuis mon arivée; les raisons de proulgerie avec le feu Duc, son bienfaitteur, on estte causé par lamour que falaiseau avee pour la C. de Santwitz, et don le Duc aystte chalou. Je vous anvois des ver que Madame ma anvoiyé et qui doivée estter fort louée an france. Je vous avoue mon mauvais gou, quelle ne me plaise pas. Vous aurais remarqué dans le raport contre le dernier minister que le feu Ld Boulinbrouck dit que les francois sont ausy mechant poette que les anglois politicien. Je suis pourtant fort pour ceu de cornelle, Racine, beaulau, Renié; il se peut que ne possitan pas sy bien la langue anglois que la francoise, jadmire plus se que j'antan. Je vous dire un mot de nos nouvelles, qui sont que M^r^ le duc dorleans a ranvoiyé le pretandan an lorene, que les rebelle sur les frondier d'angueltere se sont proulgé, que le general [Cusbert?] les a dispersée, et qu'il va joinder le duc Dargeile pour finir lafaire. Les troup holandaise sont adandu a tout moment, le vean estant tres bon. Le peais de Bremen et fort apropo, et la comparaisson que vous avez fait dans la lettre de la c. de p. des chiens de Brusselle et selon moy parfaite; elle a fait rire le Roy, à qui je l'ais dit, Jespere que vous aurais toujours sujett destre condand et je souhaite dy pouvoir contripuer.

CAROLINE.

Apres avoir leu le sonet, vouterais vous lanvoiyer a M^d Pelnitz ?

205.] CAROLINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, TO LEIBNITZ.

St. James, le $\frac{16}{25}$ *9bre,* 1715.

[After stating the steps she had taken on his behalf with George I. to obtain payment of his arrears of salary, to which she considers him justly entitled, and which she now hopes are in a fair way of being settled, she continues :] Vous savez que je ne suis geure jesuvite. Il faut leur rander justice, puisque ausy bein il lont rarement; il me samble que ce qu'il croi de la graces et plus raisonable et plus convenable a dieu. Jespere que vous aurais les livers que je vous aye anvoiyée. Mandé moy, je vous prie, ce que vous pances sur les ouvrages du D. glerck, qui, selon moy, on beaucoup de bon, bien que je ne luis trouvez pas là deodiscée. Je suis fache que vos douceur finisse trop tot; il n'y a rien qui puisse excuser d'aimer a etter flader que de l'estre d'un home come vous. Jaime les profete qui predisce tans de chose pour lagrandissement de notre famille; permetté moy destre faché qu'yne home come vous ayez ette vn moment sans savoir ce qu'il disoit. Le Roy a pareu ettre aissez que vous fuciée contan du manifeste; nous panson fort serieusement à faire tradevuire votre deodisé, mais nous cheron un bon traducteur. D. Glerck et trop oposée à vos opinnion pour le faire; sans contredit il serait le plus proper de tous; il et trop de lopinion de Sr Eizack newton, et je suis moy meme an dispute avec luy: J'implore votre secour; il dore la pillulle et ne veut avouer tout à fait que M^r newton ayeé les santiment que vous luy donne, mes an efait vous verais par le papie sy joint que sest la meme chose. Je ne puis jamais croire que ce qui et convenable à la perfection de dieu. Je la trouvez beaucoup plus parfait dans vos opinion, que dans celle de M^r newton; ou effectivement dieu doit esttre toujours presans pour raquemoder la machine, parcequ'il ne la peu faire des le comancement. Dr Glerck ny newton ne se veulle dire

de la Secte de Mr locke, mais je ne puis ny ne veut esttre de la leur. Il on vne autre nossion sur lame; il disee qu'il ne crois pas, mais que Dieu peut aneantir lame, come vous le verais ausy icy. J'ay toute une autre opinion; je crois que Dieu les a fait immortelle, et je tire sela de la Se Ecriture, ou il dit qu'il fera l'home selon son image. C'est image estte surement lame, puisque notre pauver corps, tout parfait qu'on nous le veut faire acroire, n'aurait peu altteré (?); ainsy c'est ame et immortelle et selon l'image de dieu. Je ne puis donc croire que Dieu ne la puisse anneantire, tout come il ne peut faire que ce que je tien dans ma main soit plus grande qu'elle; ensy je crois la meme chose de lame. Je vous prie de me dire vos santiment la decus. Jespere de n'ecrire pas a vne Eveque; einsy je vais plus loin, et dis que je suis persuadée que c'est vne pardit de cestte perfection divine; je crain que nous ne serons pas tacord. Je vous prei de reponder au papié et de me monderer mes erreur, que je quiterais avec beaucoup de plaisir, et de deferance pour vn home du merite du grand Monsieur L'Ebeniz.

CAROLINE.

206.] THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO LEIBNITZ.

St. James, le $\frac{10}{20}$ *December*, 1715.

J'ay eu vn sy grand Rume que je n'ay peu vous repondre, Monsieur. Je suis bien aise que mes livers on etté agreablement receu de vous. vous trouverais dans D: Thilonsoon beaucoup de raport avec vos opinions, que vous nous avez sy admirablement marqué dans votre deotisee. J'espere que vos souhait seron exhaucée, et qu'à lavenir nous n'adanteron plus parller de repellion dans c'est ille. Madame ne s'est pas contandé de vous dire ces santimens; elle me les a ecrité avec la mesme franchise an dissun mille bien du feu duc Dormunt, ce qui ma porte de luy anvoiyer an francois le Raporte de la comitee Segrette, où elle trouuera le caractere de c'est honest home, avec les santiment de Mr torcy sur la renunciassion du Roy d'Espanye à la courone de france. J'espere qu'elle

le fera lire à Mr le Regent; je l'ay done au comte de Salmaire pour le luy randre. Je vous ranvois me reponce a votre papie; je conservez avec tous le soins du monde les reponce de codés et d'autre. Je ne Scais sy la prevantion que i'ay pour votre merite me rand parcialle, mais je drouvez tous replique, plus tot des mot sans qu'on les puisse nomer des replique. Vous ne vous été point trompe à lodeur des reponce; elles ne sont pas ecrit sans lavie du Chev: Neuthon, que ie vousderais racomodé avec vous. Je ne scais sy vous y voulez consantir, mais l'abbe condy et moy nous nous avons erigée an midyateurs, et il serait a plaindre que deu aussy grands homes que vous et luy fussié desvny pour des mesandanties. Je vous remercy de la connoissance de l'abée, qui, at ceque londit, et tres savant; cet de quoy je ne puis juger, mais je luy trouuez de l'Esprit et vn grand Estime pour vous. Je n'ay peu mampécher de dire au Docteur Glerck que votre opinion me paraissait la plus convenable à la perfection de dieu, et que toute philosophie qui m'anvoûlet Eloinger, me paressoit inparfait, puisque Selon moy elle estté fait où devoit estre recherché pour nous tranquilliser et fortifier conter nous même et de tout ce qui nous hurdé hor' de nous, que je ne croiet pas quelle pouroit faire c'est effait sy elle nous monderait l'imperfection de dieu. Il ma fort lon tems parlle pour me faire de son opinion, et il y a perdu son ladin; je vous prie dy repondre. Vous saurais que mon bon ami L'Evesque de lincolne et Archevéque de canterbury, ce qui ma estte un sansible plaisir, non seulment par raport aluy, mais davoir un home de son merite à la D'ette de nos Eglise protestande. Il ma parlle aujour de huy de votre admirable deodisee, et d'aper apres que Son installassion sera fait nous parleron a la faire traduire. Je suis doute glorieuse d'avoir les même santiment avec se grand home, qui trouuez que plus on rélié seliver plus on le trouuez incompârable. Le gout que jay pour se liver me fait souvenir de L'Evesque de Spieu, qui dissoit aimé estter ademiré dans la musique par les plus grand ingoran. Je me fladee que vous aurais le meme santiment; ensy vous devrez ettre tres condans destre admires par vne aussy grande ingorande que moy.

Mais la verité frape les ingoran cõme le plus savan, et cés ce que j'ay prie la liberdée de dire a feu Mad. l'Electrice, qui pretandés ne le pouvoir condantre. Je crois que l'on donnera quelque ordre a hañovres pour votre argeant; du moins jy fait de mon mieux, et le ferais toujours où il sagira de vous faire plaisir.

CAROLINE.

207.] LEIBNITZ TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Hanover, 11 *Sept.* 1716.

Madame,

Je suis de retour de Bronsvic depuis quelques jours, où j'ay fait un peu ma cour vers la fin de la foire; et je me suis donné l'honneur d'en écrire à Votre Altesse Royale, et de luy envoyer la relation de Mgr. le Prince de Beveren, que Mgr. le Duc Régent me donna luy-même pour cet effect. J'ay été aussi quelques fois chez Madame la Princesse de Beveren, sœur de l'Impératrice; et je trouve cette Princesse aussi heureuse que sa Sœur, à cela près que son mari s'expose d'avantage maintenant: il est vray que l'Empereur ne l'a pas fait moins. On espère que Temeswar ne tiendra pas longtemps; et quelques-uns se flattent qu'on pourra encore assiéger Belgrade. Mais si l'on avoit eu ce dessein, je crois qu'on auroit commencé par Belgrade. Cependant si Temeswar se rendoit bientôt, et si la saison continuoit d'être favorable, peut-être pourroit-on se résoudre encor au second siége, mais qui deviendra sans doute plus difficile par le delay.

Les nouvelles de Corfou sont assés variables. Les frères et sœurs ont eu grand sujet de craindre pour le Général Schulenbourg. Cependant on croit maintenant que la ville tenoit encore bon, et qu'il avoit la mer libre pour recevoir du secours, et pour pouvoir sortir au besoin. On espère même qu'à l'arrivée des vaisseaux Espagnols et Portugais, les Vénitiens pourront être en état d'attaquer avec succès la flotte Turque, et obliger ces barbares de quitter l'isle. J'ay vu à Bronsvic un autre Général Schulenbourg, qui est au Service du Roy de Sicile, et qui paroissoit craindre pour Corfou: mais il y a de

l'apparence que la porte Ottomane, ayant appris le grande défaite de Peterwardein, rappellera les troupes débarquées dans l'Isle de Corfou, pour les employer à mieux couvrir ses propres états menacés par les impériaux. Votre Altesse Royale aura sans doute esté informée des étranges déportemens du Marquis de Langallerie, que j'ay connu à Berlin, où il me parut assés raisonnable; mais les malheurs luy ont tourné la tête. On m'écrit de Vienne qu'ayant été interrogé devant les Commissaires de l'Empereur, il a avoué d'abord son traité avec le Turc, mais il a adjouté qu'il n'y avoit point eu de guerre alors entre l'Empereur et les Ottomans, et qu'il avoit eu sujet de croire qu'il n'y en auroit point; que depuis qu'il étoit sorti du service de France, il n'avoit jamais eu engagement avec des ennemis de Sa Majesté Impériale; que son dessein avoit été de faire la guerre au Pape, comme à un ennemi de Jésus-Christ, de livrer le Pape aux Turcs, et la ville de Rome à l'Empereur; que les Turcs luy avoient promis en échange un royaume dans quelque isle de la Méditerranée, et que l'échange d'un prêtre contre un royaume n'auroit point été mauvais. Les Commissaires ont eu de la peine à s'empêcher de rire. Quelques-uns disent que le prétendu Prince de Linange, qui est aussi arrivé à Vienne, est un fils naturel d'un Comte de Linange; d'autres prétendent qu'il est gentilhomme de Poitou, et qu'après avoir fait mille fourberies en France, il est venu en Hollande, se disant premièrement Prince député des pirates de Madagascar, qui tranchent de Souverains dans cette grande isle; et puis il a voulu faire le Messie, ou du moins le précurseur du Messie des Juifs, et a trouvé des fous qui luy ont donné de l'argent. On croit donc qu'il y a de la malice dans son fait, mais de la folie dans celuy du Marquis.

Le Roy a trouvé un Successeur du Baron de la Hontan, mais d'une autre espèce, c'est le Comte de Brandebourg. On dit qu'il est d'une bonne famille de Luxembourg, et que s'étant fait Capucin dans sa jeunesse, il est parvenu jusqu'à être confesseur de la Reine Douairière d'Espagne. Il m'a raconté luy-même, qu'étant ami du Comte de Melgar, Amirante de Castille, qu'on voulu[t] attirer au Service Bourbon, sous prétexte

de l'envoyer Ambassadeur en France, mais dans le dessein de le mettre en prison, il luy écrivit une lettre pour l'en avertir; et que cette lettre estant tombée enfin entre les mains du parti du Duc d'Anjou, il fut pris prisonnier et mené en France. Je me souviens que la gazette a parlé d'un Capucin mis en prison pour affaires d'état. Il est resté dans la Bastille, jusqu'à la paix, et alors il a été relâché. Mais depuis, étant désaccoutumé de la manière de vivre Capucine, il a quitté la religion Romaine avec le froc, et Madame de Kielmansek luy a obtenu une pension du Roy. Maintenant il est souvent à la table de sa Majesté; et comme luy et l'Abbé Bouquoy ont été compagnons de Bastille, j'espère qu'ils s'accorderont mieux que l'Abbé et le Baron. S'il luy étoit permis, depuis qu'il a quitté le métier, de rompre le sceau de la confession, il nous pourroit dire si la Reine d'Espagne n'a pas été tentée d'épargner une grande guerre à l'Europe, par un *peccadillo*, comme quelques-uns le voudroient peut-être appeler.

Je suis fort obligé à V. A. Royale de la permission qu'elle a donnée de luy dédier la traduction de la 'Théodicée,' et de parler dans la dédicace de l'approbation qu'Elle a donnée à ce dessein. Je ne connois pas encor la personne qui l'a entrepris, mais je souhaite qu'elle écrive en bon style Anglois, qui puisse avoir l'approbation des connoissances; car les Anglois sont fort delicats, même par rapport au style, et ils ont raison; car cette délicatesse contribue beaucoup à faire exprimer nettement et agréablement les pensées. Je ne saurois juger de l'élégance Angloise, mais il me semble que je puis juger au moins de la netteté des expressions. M. Clarke n'en manque pas assurément, mais nous verrons bientôt, si elle est accompagnée de sincérité, et s'il est homme à donner les mains à la vérité: cela luy feroit plus d'honneur sans doute, que les détours qu'il pourroit prendre pour s'en exemter. S'il continue à me disputer le grand principe, *Que rien n'arrive sans qu'il y ait une raison suffisante pourquoy il arrive, et pourquoy ainsi, plustôt qu'autrement*, et s'il prétend encore que quelque chose peut arriver par un *mere will of God*, sans aucun motif; sentiment réfuté parfaitement dans la Théodicée, et encore dans

mon dernier écrit; il faudra l'abandonner à son sens, ou plustost à son obstination, car il est difficile que dans les fonds de l'âme il n'en soit touché: mais je crois que le public ne l'en tiendra point quitte. Cependant j'espère encore le meilleur, surtout puisque le tout s'agit sous les yeux de Votre Altesse Royale, qu'il n'est pas aisé de tromper. Au reste, je suis avec dévotion,

Madame, de Votre Altesse Royale
Le très soumis et très obéissant Serviteur,
LEIBNITZ.

P.S.—Les Anglois admirent Monseigneur le Duc de Cornouaille; ils souhaiteroient seulement qu'il eut auprès de luy quelque page ou valet Anglois choisi.

208.] SCHULENBURG TO LEIBNITZ

Corfu, ce 12 de Sept., 1716.

Monsieur,

J'ai eu le plaisir de recevoir la lettre que vous avés eu la bonté de m'écrire en dernier lieu de Hannovre du 22 de Juin. Je ne sais où elle a été si long temps en chemin. Vous sçaurez sans doute ce qui s'est passé icy; il m'est impossible de vous en faire un détail exact, vous sçaurez cependant un jour de quelle manière je me suis pris aux affaires depuis que je suis icy au Levant. J'ai été embarassé et quasi tous les jours aux mains avec les Musulmans, qui ont eu en tête de m'emporter, sans se donner la peine de la faire par les formalités ordinaires, par un assaut général; ils y ont été bien près. Ces gens sont venus malgré un feu d'enfer de mines, fougades, et tonneaux de poudre enterrés, les uns et les autres étant chargés de pierres, avec une intrépidité comme des enragés, à se rendre maître de 2 ouvrages du chemin couvert, du fossé, des caponiéres, qui le défendaient, et de quelques poternes, s'enterrant dans la plupart de places d'armes; cependant avec l'assistence de Dieu, et par une espèce de miracle, je les ai re-

chassés. On en a tué bon nombre, et on leur a pris bien des drapeaux. L'attaque de ces gens-là est quelque chose de terrible, mais le moindre revers produit un effet tout contraire; on les renvoit et on les repousse sans beaucoup de peine. Il ne manque à ces gens-là que l'ordre et la discipline militaire, et ils nous battroient tous. Pendant ce siége ils ont fait quelquefois un très-beau feu; leur Artillerie est servie en merveille, et beaucoup de ces gens ont tiré aussi bien que les meilleurs chasseurs du monde; ils n'ont guères manqué leur homme. Le 20 il vint un orage et une pluye horrible; j'ai été dans l'eau jusqu'à la ceinture; de 2 côtés on ne pouvoit pas tirer un coup de fusil. Je fis armer d'abord tout mon monde de demypiques, et je le fis voir ainsi tout aux Mustulmans, qui remarquèrent bien qu'il y avoit de la despération dans mon fait. Le 21 le feu, après qu'on s'était séché, recommença de part et d'autre. Ces Messieurs sur mer, qui nous ont vu faire et même assez près, étant souvent sur le petit Isle de Vido, ont eu la Comédie, et les Alliez avouent qu'ils n'ont gueres vu de feu plus vive et continué plus longtemps. J'avois donné à chaque soldat 2 jusqu'à 3 fusils. Vers le soir du 21, on vit porter beaucoup d'échelles dans les tranchées des ennemys: je me préparois à essuyer un second assaut général. Je crois que les Commandans Turcs ont été d'avis de la faire donner; mais on sçait que les Janissaires et autres peuples s'y sont opposés, et que c'est par là que toute l'Armée prit la fuite 2 heures avant le jour le 22, laissant en arrière sans aucune necessité près de 60 canons et mortiers, tous de bronze, la plus belle artillerie du monde, une infinité de munition, vivres et d'autre attirail de guerre. Il ne dépendoit que d'eux, leur Flotte étant à un grand tir de canon de là, de faire leur retraite en ordre et d'embarquer toute l'artillerie; mais ils ont laissé les canons de Goin, qui étoient si près de leur flotte. Leur armée a été forte de $\frac{80}{m}$ hommes, à ce que les prisonniers, dont on a trouvé pluissieurs endormis dans leurs tranchées, disent; on mande de terre ferme que les 2 tiers de cette armée sont péris sur cette Isle, comme morts, tués, dispersés et noyés à la retraite.

On a fait avec peu ou quasi avec rien, tout ce qui a été hu-

mainement possible. Le Capit. Bassa a manœuvré en grand et habile homme: sa retraite fut belle. De nostre côté on a aussi fait tout ce qui à été humainement possible, pour combattre les infidèles, mais le Ciel ne nous a pas voulu favoriser: on n'a jamais eu pendant un si long temps, un quart d'heure un vent favorable; nous avons eu 46 vaisseaux de guerre, et 41 galléres et galléasses, 3 brûlots, 4 capres, et 12 jusqu'à 15 vaisseaux de transport. Notre Flotte est allé vers Zante, pour suivre le Cap^ne^ Bassa, qu'on aura de la peine à revoir cette campagne, mais bien de bonne heure le printemps qui vient. Je voudrois profiter des conjonctures favorables, et j'en voudrois avoir le moyen: avec tout cela, on a fait miracles à Venise d'avoir sur mer une bonne et nombreuse Flotte, et un bon nombre de troupes sur pied; en peu de temps il y aura sur la Flotte et icy 16 jusqu'à $\frac{18}{m}$ hommes. Je vous prie de m'envoyer l'honneur de votre souvenir, et de me donner de temps en temps de vos bonnes nouvelles; vers le mois de Novembre j'espère d'être à Venise. J'ai attrapé, de toutes les fatigues et embarras que j'ai eus, la crampe aux deux jambes, et qui commence à me prendre aussi aux bras: si le temps et les conjonctures le veulent permettre, je prendrai les bains au Royaume de Naples, car ce mal me fait souffrir beaucoup. Je suis au reste, très sincèrement, Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

C. DE SCHULENBURG.

209.] LEIBNITZ TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

[*No date.*]

Madame,

Après avoir eu l'honneur depuis peu d'écrire une longue lettre à V. A. R., je ne devrois pas y revenir si tost, si la lettre d'un ami de Berlin ne m'avoit donné occasion de penser à une chose importante aux églises protestantes en général, où il me paroist que V.A.R. pourroist estre un organe choisi par la Providence pour la faire réussir.

Afin d'entrer en matière, il faut vous raconter, Madame, ce qui s'est passé déjà là-dessus. Feu Monsieur de Spanheim, passant un jour par Hanover, eut ordre du Roy son maistre de sonder notre Roy, alors Électeur, s'il n'y avoit moyen de venir à une meilleure intelligence entre les deux églises protestantes, dont les Théologiens de Brandebourg et de Bronsvic, étant constamment les plus modérés de l'Empire, pourroient jeter les premiers fondemens. Cela fut agréé; Monsieur l'Évêque Ursinus et Monsieur Jablonski furent nommés d'un côté, et Monsieur l'Abbé Molanus de l'autre; qui voulut que j'y fusse joint, ce que Monseigneur l'Électeur trouva bon. On vint à des conférences de vive voix, et à des communications, par où l'on n'avança pas peu: et je crois que l'affaire seroit allée loin, si le Roy de Prusse avoit été constant dans les mesures prises, et les avoit poursuivies sur un même pied. Mais il étoit fort sujet à changer: il se dégoûta d'une affaire qui ne pouvoit pas courir la poste; et il se laissa entrainer par les projets des piétistes, et particulièrement du Docteur Winkler de Magdebourg, avec son *Arcanum Regium*. Ces gens encourageoient le Roy de faire des changemens chez luy au préjudice de nos Églises, en vertu de sa souveraine puissance; ce qui estoit directement contraire à ce qu'on avoit concerté: savoir, que les Églises de Brandebourg et de Bronsvic viendroient à des déclarations procurées par le commun accord des deux souverains. Ainsi la négotiation fut suspendue par un silence mutuel; et le Roy de Prusse cependant reconnut que l'avis des piétistes ne serviroit qu'à de nouvelles aigreurs, de sorte que tout demeura en suspens. Il pensa un jour à introduire dans le Brandebourg l'usage des Églises Anglicanes; mais ce ne fut aussi qu'une pensée passagère.

Maintenant que l'Électeur de Bronsvic, devenu Roy de la Grande-Bretagne, est entré dans l'Église Anglicane, sans avoir changé de Religion, comme Sa Ma^té^ déclare avec raison dans les occasions; il s'ensuit qu'elle juge que l'Église Anglicane et la nostre ne diffèrent point de Religion, mais seulement de Rite: c'est-à-dire, dans les cérémonies et dans des dogmes non-essentiels des docteurs, dont l'Église n'exige

point la créance dans ses membres; et je ne doute point que V. A. Royale ne soit dans le même sentiment. Mais de l'autre côté l'Église Anglicane soutient de n'avoir pas une autre Religion que celle qu'ont les Églises Réformées du Brandebourg; puisqu'aussy bien les unes et les autres ne s'attachent point au Synode de Dordrecht. Or deux choses étant une même chose avec une troisième, sont un entre elles. La Religion des Églises de Bronsvic est la même avec l'Anglicane: la Religion des Églises Réformées de Brandebourg est aussi la même avec l'Anglicane: donc la Religion des Églises Évangéliques de Bronsvic et Réformées de Bronsvic (*sic*) est aussi la même, sans que la diversité des rites et des dogmes doctoresques le puisse empêcher.

Il s'agit maintenant de faire en sorte que cela soit bien compris des peuples, et mis en jour par des déclarations des souuerains, concertées par les Théologiens. Et il semble qu'il faudroit reprendre le fil de la négotiation commencée, et non encore rompue, entre les Théologiens de Brandebourg et de Bronsvic, sous l'autorité des deux Rois; d'autant plus aisément que les députés vivent encore de part et d'autre; et d'y joindre des Théologiens de l'Église Anglicane, comme médiateurs; puisque cette Église étant le lien, et qu'elle est ce tiers, lequel estant un avec chacun des deux partis, fait qu'ils sont un entre eux. Le Roy de Prusse y est peut-être autant et plus propre que son prédecesseur. Car quoyqu'il prenne peut-être moins feu d'abord sur des choses de cette nature, en échange, je crois qu'il sera plus attaché à des mesures prises, et pourra faire conduire une affaire jusqu'au bout.

Il s'agit présentement de faire entrer nostre Roy dans la résumption de cette affaire, et il faut que cela se tente avec toute la délicatesse imaginable; et surtout il faut qu'il ne paroisse pas que j'y ay la moindre part. Le vray moyen pour cela seroit que des grands hommes de l'Église Anglicane en parlassent à Sa Ma^té^ et la priassent d'interposer son autorité pour faire cesser, ou pour diminuer au moins, le grand Schisme des églises protestantes, qui leur a causé tant de maux, et qui les a mis autresfois à deux doigts de leur perte,

dans l'Empire. Et pour y mieux porter Sa Ma[illegible] pourroient alléguer pour exemple, ou, comme les Anglois disent, *pour précédent*, ce que l'Église Anglicane commença de faire du temps de Charles premier. Le primat et autres prélats de l'Église Anglicane d'alors envoyèrent tout exprès en Allemagne un savant Théologien de leur église, nommé Johannes Dursus, qui eut des instructions des prélats, et des recommandations de la Cour. Mais les rébellions qui commencèrent un peu après en Écosse et en Angleterre, firent tomber un projet si salutaire. Or il est à noter que l'affaire fut entreprise alors par des Evêques et Théologiens qu'on appelleroit Toris aujourdhuy; et qu'ainsy, en cas que l'Archevesque de Cantorbéry et quelques autres prélats entrassent dans cette négotiation, ceux du parti contraire n'auroient point de raison de s'y opposer, et en tout cas pourroient estre convaincus par leurs prédécesseurs. Et peut-être pourroit-on y faire entrer quelques prélats qui passent pour Toris, comme, par exemple, l'Évêque de Londres.

La grande question est maintenant avec qui V. A. Royale en pourroit parler en secret, pour faire mettre en mouvement l'Archevêque de Cantorbéry. Car si ce prélat si vénérable par son âge et par sa dignité en parloit au Roy, et luy recommandoit cette affaire, sans qu'on en sût ailleurs le sujet de son audiance, je ne doute point que le Roy n'agréât son zèle, et ne l'autorisât à en conférer en secret avec quelque peu d'autres prélats et théologiens bien intentionnés, pour prendre des mesures, et choisir quelque théologien comme Secrétaire de leur congrégation, propre à entrer en communication par lettres avec nostre Abbé de Loccum. Après quoy, les choses estant un peu préparées, on pourroit envoyer icy; et même la communication par écrit estant commencée, avant la fin de l'hyver, quelque théologien choisi pourroit venir icy avec le Roy, sans faire semblant de rien.

Je doute qu'il soit à propos d'en parler à M. l'Évêque de Lincoln, car il est grand aumonier du Roy: il faut un homme moins élevé déjà en dignité, mais en passe d'avancer, doué de beaucoup de zèle, de modération et de capacité. Il faudroit

aussi qu'il fût estimé et bienvenu de l'Archevêque, et propre à estre l'entremetteur entre V. A. R. et ce primat. En cas que V. A. R. fût embarrassée sur le choix, je pourrois peut-être luy proposer quelque sujet, à moins que V. A. R. n'eût occasion de s'entretenir elle-même avec M. l'Archevêque. C'est tout ce que je puis dire pour le présent. Rien ne siera mieux à V. A. R.; sa piété et sa prudence vont du pair, et sa dignité leur donne de l'efficace; et il y a lieu d'espérer que la bénédiction divine n'y manquera point. Pour moy, je serois ravi de voir encore quelque fruit de mes travaux passés: et au reste, ne doutant point que V. A. R. ne ménage l'affaire comme il faut, je suis avec dévotion, Madame,

De V. A. R., etc. etc.,

L.

Postscript apparently to the preceding Letter.

Je n'aurois rien à adjouter à une longue lettre que j'ay pris la liberté d'écrire à V. A. R. sur un sujet de quelque conséquence, si la Gazette ne m'avoit appris la mort de l'Archevêque de Cantorbéry, et la nomination que le Roy a faite de M. l'Évêque de Lincoln, pour remplir ce grand poste. Cela doit faire changer les mesures, à l'égard des personnes; et je crois que si V. A. Royale veut prendre l'affaire en main, il faut qu'Elle en parle elle-même au nouveau primat, mais sans faire paroistre que j'y aye la moindre part. Le zèle et les lumières de V. A. Royale y suffisent.

Comme le nouveau primat est d'un âge, comme je crois, à se pouvoir promettre d'achever l'ouvrage s'il le commence, je crois qu'il en sera d'autant plus disposé. Il sera bon qu'il paroisse que l'affaire vient entièrement des Anglois: et elle en sera mieux reçue du Roy et de la Nation. Mais je crois que le Secret sera tousjours bon au commencement.

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